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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-117
Tuesday
20 June 1989

Daily Report
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Debate Continues at Paris Human Rights Forum

Hungarian Reads Statement

LD1606165889 Budapest MTI in English
1614 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 16 (MTI)—Hungarian Ambassador Andre Erdos read the statement of the Hungarian Government on the occasion of the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates, at the plenary session of the Paris meeting dealing with the human dimension of the European situation. Mr Erdos announced that the Hungarian delegation is to join several proposals aimed at better guaranteeing political rights, as co-author.

In the following the Hungarian ambassador outlined, and refuted point by point, the Monday contribution of the Romanian delegate with respect to the enforcement of the rights of national minorities in Romania. He noted that Hungar fully agrees with the Romanian basic principle of treating the citizens in the same manner, and wishes that this be realized also in the everyday practice.

Refuting the Romanian statement on the refugees, Mr Erdos said that not only Romanian citizens who arrive in Hungary with a tourist visa ask for refuge, but very many people flee across the border without permits, accepting a grave risk. Officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have already viewed the temporary camps in Hungary, and the body is to shortly open a representation in Budapest for the more effective support of refugees.

Mr Erdos, recalling official Romanian statements, called the attention of the conference to the fact that the Romanian Government threatens the entire future of the minorities.

The Hungarian ambassador stressed that Hungary will not give up control over the implementation of the international obligations accepted in the Helsinki and Vienna documents, which the Vienna closing document has ensured as a right to all participating countries.

Hungary-Romania Disagreement

LD1906222889 Budapest MTI in English
2145 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 19 (MTI)—At the Paris meeting on the human dimensions of the European situation, the representative of Romania sharply attacked Hungary on the pretext of the burial ceremony of Imre Nagy. The accusations were rejected by the Hungarian ambassador.

Theodor Melescanu, deputy leader of the Romanian delegation, spoke among others of the importance of states avoiding such demonstrations which would be 'chauvinistic, neo-fascist, territorial revisionistic in character' aiming to incite hatred against other countries. According to the Romanian delegate the Budapest event of June 16 could be described in this way. He called on the Hungarian Government to put an end to such demonstrations. Melescanu also accused Hungary that its representatives disseminate views of reactionary circles at international forums, wrapped in a humanitarian phrasing.

Andre Erdos, Hungarian ambassador, pointed out in his reply that Hungarian delegations reflect the views of Hungarian society at international forums.

Hungary actively participates at the international conferences on human rights, thus at the Paris meeting as well, Mr Erdos emphasized. It is not only our phrasing that is humanitarian, but also the content of our speeches. We express our views concerning human rights, without any ulterior motives. Hungarian Government has expressed on several occasions that it firmly holds itself to the word and spirit of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. It was not Budapest, which voiced its reservations adding explanatory documents to the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting, Mr Erdos said emphasizing Romanian separatism.

CSSR Delegation Head Speech

LD1906212189 Prague CTK in English
2016 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Paris June 19 (CTK correspondent)—The international conference on human dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) continued here today with a plenary session, at which head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Ambassador Frantisek Dolezel, delivered a speech.

He stressed that the Czechoslovak delegation has exerted effort to inform the other countries attending the conference of the implementation of the relevant points of the Vienna final document and of further progress in this direction. It has been our aim to show Czechoslovakia's readiness for a consistent implementation of the Vienna accords, he said.

On the other side we have expected all the delegations here to provide information on what has been done in their countries for the implementation of the Vienna document, the Czechoslovak representative said, adding that the Vienna obligations concern everyone. Each country has its specific conditions, traditions and historic experience, which must be taken into account. We have a common goal, however, the paths leading to it are not identical, he said. But we can draw lessons from each other. Experience of this kind, positive or negative, can certainly represent a valuable lesson for everyone, Frantisek Dolezel said here today.

He appreciated the fact that more countries than in the past have provided information on their own steps in this area. It is promising that delegations of those countries which preferred to discuss solely others and keep silent about themselves in the past has joined this stream, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation said.

In this context he said that it cannot be left aside that a selective attitude and efforts aimed at giving marks to other countries have been also expressed at the Paris forum. The stereotype attitudes of the past were still often reflected in the talks, thus harming its atmosphere, Dolezel said.

Speaking of the need for joint action against violence, he voiced regret over the fact that measures concerning the protection of life, health and property of man, often in danger due to terrorism, have been left almost unnoticed by the Paris conference. According to our opinion, the extradition of terrorists who committed for instance air piracy would help effective cooperation in the struggle against this dangerous phenomenon, the ambassador stated. In this connection Czechoslovakia expects the West German Government to extradite the two Czechoslovak citizens who hijacked a Malev aircraft at Prague Airport. This would be in tune with the spirit and principles of the all-European process as well as good neighbourly relations, he stressed.

Frantisek Dolezel pointed out that many serious problems concerning human rights failed to be mentioned at the conference, including e.g. the living conditions of North American Indians. As for the problems of illiteracy dealt with by the head of the Canadian delegation, it is difficult for us to understand that such phenomena have not been removed yet, the ambassador stated.

We all know how unsatisfactory the human rights situation is in Ireland, he said. We understand that its solution is very complicated. However, we have not heard so far anything that the British Government has done for its solution since the signing of the Vienna final document, Frantisek Dolezel said.

At the end of his speech, Ambassador Dolezel reacted to last weeks speech of head of the U.S. delegation Morris Abram, who voiced critical comments on the role of the state in the appointment of church dignitaries in Czechoslovakia.

Those who have been following this issue for long and without prejudice know that problems linked to the appointment of dignitaries concerned only the Catholic Church, he said adding that some 20 churches legally exist in Czechoslovakia. He who wants to see the situation objectively has also noted that talks between a Czechoslovak Government delegation and a Vatican delegation had taken place, bringing about concrete results in the form of an agreement on the appointment of three bishops. Vaticans proposals for the appointment of another two bishops are being discussed at present, Dolezel said.

Balkan Industrial Talks End in Bucharest

AU1006153989 Tirana ATA in English 0835 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—The ministerial meeting of the Balkan states on the industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology which was held from June 7-8 in Bucharest wound up its proceedings.

On June 8, the heads of the delegations of the Balkan countries were received by the President of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Romania, Nicolae Ceaucescu.

In the closing sitting, the ministers approved a joint communique, which says among others:

The economic progress of the Balkan countries and their industrial potential offer possibilities to increase and diversify the economic, technological, and scientific cooperation. The ministers agreed that the spirit of initiative should be displayed so as to use all the advanced forms of the industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology among their respective countries on the basis of the principles of observing the sovereignty and national independence, equality, and mutual benefit.

The ministers, the communique stresses, recommended that the possibilities of the expansion of these activities be studied in the fields of machine building, the production of wagons, the automobile industry, that of agricultural machines, equipment for mines, medical apparatus, equipment to be used in the rejuvenated energy sources, electric and electronic machines, informatique, microelectronics, chemical and petrochemical industry, the extraction and processing of minerals, a better exploitation of the natural sources, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, in the building materials industry, construction and repairment of ships, in the food processing industry, textile industry, confections, leather processing and its confections, in biotechnology, etc.

It was also recommended the joint compilation of long-term agreements and contracts of specialization and cooperation including the joint industrial production and the agreements on the transfer of technology between the countries concerned and the application of such forms of industrial cooperation as joint production, exchange of goods, the made-to-order production, exchange of documentation, and granting of licenses.

The ministers pointed to the importance of the joint researches in the field of industry and the promotion of the scientific and technical cooperation in multilateral and bilateral level. They recommended the organization of periodical consultation in special industrial branches and sectors of mutual interest, so that to estimate the possibilities of the development of the industrial cooperation in the respective fields, to increase the exchange of experience in organizing scientific researches, technological development and introduction of technical progress.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect, the joint communique stressed.

GDR Foreign Minister Fischer Pays Visit

Fischer Arrives 19 Jun

AU1906111289 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 19 (ATA)—At the invitation of the minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, the minister for foreign affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Oskar Fischer, arrived in Tirana on a official and friendly visit, today.

At the airport he was welcomed by the minister for foreign affairs, Reis Malile, and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Berlin, Ilir Bocka, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR in Tirana, Dieter Kulitzka.

ADN Reports Fischer's Arrival

LD1906110389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1046 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer arrived in Tirana today on an official friendship visit at the invitation of Reis Malile, foreign minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Oscar Fischer was warmly welcomed at the airport of the Albanian capital by his counterpart and by other personalities from the Albanian Foreign Ministry.

Malile, Fischer Start Talks

AU1906183289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Talks between Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign minister, began in a warm and friendly atmosphere at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today.

The two ministers pointed out the positive steps that have been taken in relations between Albania and the GDR, which will serve to promote the development of friendly cooperation between our two countries and a stronger friendship between our two peoples.

They expressed a common desire to develop relations between Albania and the GDR in various fields of mutual interest, especially in the economic, trade, technical, scientific, cultural, and health fields.

The ministers stressed the need to exploit existing opportunities and to find new ways of increasing economic cooperation and expanding trade, thus creating a significant basis that will give fresh impetus to the development of bilateral relations in these areas.

During the talks, Foreign Ministers Reis Malile and Oskar Fischer also exchanged views about problems in the international situation and the state of Europe and the Balkans.

Foreign Minister Reis Malile pointed out that the recently inaugurated process of Balkan cooperation and understanding is a necessity dictated by the fundamental interests of the Balkan peoples and countries, helping to promote peace in the region and beyond.

For his part, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer welcomed this process and emphasized Albania's contribution to it.

Ilir Bocka, extraordinary and plenipotentiary Albanian ambassador to Berlin; Dietrich Kulitxka, extraordinary and plenipotentiary GDR ambassador to Tirana; and senior officials of the GDR and Albanian Foreign Ministries also took part in the talks.

Fischer Pays Respects to Hoxha

AU1906182889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign minister, paid his respects at the graves of the martyrs of the nation and Comrade Enver Hoxha's tomb this afternoon.

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer laid a wreath at the Mother Albania Monument, and a bouquet of flowers at the tomb of Comrade Enver Hoxha, leader of the Albanian people.

Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Eduard Shehu, commander of Tirana Garrison, accompanied him at this ceremony.

Malile, Fischer Discuss Relations

LD1906164689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana (ADN)—Official talks began in Tirana today between the foreign ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the GDR, Reis Malile and Oskar Fischer. The GDR official arrived in the Albanian capital in the morning for an official friendship visit of several days and was warmly welcomed by his counterpart at the airport.

At the beginning of the talks in the Foreign Ministry headquarters, Minister Malile expressed the conviction that the visit and exchange of opinions be constructive, useful, and successful. For his part, Oskar Fischer stressed that the two sides are interested in making progress in the bilateral relations, and expressed his thanks for the invitation.

The first round of talks took place in an open atmosphere. The two sides were in agreement with the wish to expand the existing good and solid basis of the relations, and to make them even more viable in all spheres of intrastate cooperation. Oskar Fischer and Reis Malile used this first meeting to exchange information about the two countries' development. The GDR foreign minister outlined the GDR's stable and dynamic development in the firm unity of economic and social policies. The Albanian foreign minister reported on the successful efforts of the people, under difficult conditions, to build socialism in Albania.

The two foreign ministers expressed unanimously that, with the visit, a new stage in the bilateral relations is being introduced. They discussed a wide range of issues concerning the possibilities of political dialogue, as well as cooperation in the area of the economy and in the spheres such as culture, sports, the recreation system and the media.

The Albanian side acknowledged the fact that the GDR has always been a reliable partner. In particular, mutual trade has contributed to the planned development of both coutries' economies. Cooperation in the health sector was noted with satisfaction, and both sides expressed the hope that the planned signing of an agreement will give further impetus to collaboration in this sphere.

The exchange of views between the two ministers was continued this afternoon in a second round devoted to the discussion of international questions. The program also included a wreath-laying by the GDR foreign minister at the Mother Albania memorial in the capital, and the paying of respects at the grave of the first secretary of the Albanian Workers' Party Central Committee, Enver Hoxha, who died in 1985. Reis Malile is hosting a dinner this evening.

More on Malile's Talks

LD1906221889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Tirana (ADN)—In Tirana today, Reis Malile and Oskar Fischer, the foreign ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the GDR, reinforced the determination of the two sides to continually develop bilateral relations further in many areas. At the same time, they noted coincidence of views on fundamental questions of detente, disarmament, and the securing of peace. [passage omitted]

The ministers' afternoon session was devoted to a detailed discussion of international matters. They agreed that the most favorable developmental conditions for the shaping of socialism in their countries required, above all, the guaranteeing of peaceful international relations. These must be persistently fought for.

Oskar Fischer stressed the fact that disarmament of all types of troops and weapons, with respect for the principles of equality and equal security for all sides, is the only sure route to a lasting peace. In view of the stockpiled annihilation potential, war could no longer be a mode of policy. The GDR directs its efforts toward disarmament measures in Europe because it is here that the greatest destruction potential in the world is concentrated. Through the establishment of zones of reduced weapon and troop presence, for example, in the case of chemical and nuclear weapons, its initiatives aim to lessen the risk arising from these weapons and to increase security on a regional basis, at first.

For the GDR too, a peace policy means that they should support everything that serves the peaceful and just resolution of regional conflicts, the minister stressed.

The GDR pursues an active policy of dialogue, which focuses on the task of doing everything possible to insure that never again can war emanate from German soil. In this context, Oskar Fischer expressed concern over the alarming advance of the neo-Nazis in the FRG, as shown by the last election results.

Reis Malile stressed that a universal halt to the arms race was a requirement of time. Albania understood and supported the GDR's attitude to this, and was grateful for the support the GDR gave to the efforts for a reduction of weapons in the Mediteranean area. Disarmament must be brought forward in all parts of the world. Imperialism attempts to stir up ever new conflicts, making it more difficult for the people to take their fate peacefully into their own hands.

In the Balkans, there are complicated processes to be carried out, the foreign minister stressed, but the search for improved regional cooperation nevertheless has become stronger. Albania takes an active part in this on the basis of respect for sovereignty, nonintervention, and mutually advantageous cooperation. The membership of different alliance and social systems is not an obstacle to this.

The Albanian politician noted that his country strives for the development of good relations with other European countries, and maintains fruitful contacts and links with countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Albania respects the policy of other countries regarding the development of international cooperation, but determines its own policy for itself. The minister noted with satisfaction, that the GDR and Albania are in agreement on the fundamental questions of international development. The two sides agreed to continue their dialogue on important international problems in every appropriate way.

Reis Malile accepted an invitation for an official visit to the GDR.

For the evening, Foreign Minister Malile extended an invitation to a dinner in a hotel near the port city of Durres, at which the host and his guest made toasts.

Malile Hosts Dinner

AU2006082989 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 20 (ATA)—The minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, gave a dinner in honour of the foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, Oskar Fischer, and the persons accompanying him, in Durres, on June 19.

Present were the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Agriculture Pali Miska; the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the minister of health, Ahmet Kamberi; the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Alfred Uci; the director of International Relations Study Institute, Prof Sofokli Lazri; the chairman of the Executive Committee of Durres District People's Council, Luan Babameto, and other invitees. Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Berlin, Ilir Bocka, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR in Tirana, Dieter Kulitzka.

During the dinner, greetings were exchanged and toasts were raised to the friendship between our two peoples and countries.

In his greeting, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, after wishing welcome to Albania to the East German foreign minister, Oscar Fischer, said among others that the visit of the foreign minister of the GDR to Albania marks an important step in the further development of the friendly relations between the PSR of Albania and the GDR. This year, he pointed out, 40 years are completed since the day of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic. At the same time, 40 years are completed since the day of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries. This is not merely a coincidence of time, but a significant indication of the history of our relations.

What unites us, he emphasized, with the people of the GDR is not only the cooperation in various fields and the sentiments of mutual respect, but also the common interest to preserve peace in Europe and the world. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, he pointed out, sees the realisation of this aspiration in the sincere efforts of each country and of all the countries together. In order to attain peace and security, no one, neither the superpowers can substitute the role of international community, where all the states should have their place and their say, to jointly decide on issues having to do with the destinies of the peoples and mankind.

The PSR of Albania and the Albanian people, the Albanian foreign minister, Reis Malile, continued further on, have hailed the steps to wipe out regional conflicts and the easing of international tension. Nevertheless, the main factors of tension in Europe and the world continue to be present. Albania will continue to join efforts with all those countries which are sincerely striving for the cause of peace and progress.

Speaking of the situation in the Balkans, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, pointed out that a positive process of cooperation has initiated. It is an expression of the political will and contribution of the states of the region to create an atmosphere of understanding and confidence, so much needed for the peace and stability on the peninsula, Europe, and the Mediterranean. He underscored that Albania, just like until now, in the future too will not spare its efforts for the continuation and consolidation of the process of Balkan cooperation.

On his part, the foreign minister of the GDR, Oskar Fischer, expressed the sincere gratitude for the cordial welcome and satisfaction over the visit to Albania. We recall with profound veneration, he said among others, the heroic struggle of the Albanian people for freedom, democracy, and independence, against national and social oppression. We are proud that Karl Marx has taken interest in the history, language, and traditions of the Albanian people. Marx was in particular attracted by the national Albanian hero, Skenderbeg. The citizens of the German Democratic Republic feel themselves very closely linked with the Albanian people, with regard to their antifascist resistance full of bravery. It were the best sons and daughters of Albania who bravely fought against the fascists and Nazis. The battles full of sacrifices of the Albanian partisans under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania filled also the antifascist Germans with hope and confidence.

The East German foreign minister, Oskar Fischer, pointed out the efforts of the GDR with regard to disarmament, the preservation of peace, stability, and security in Europe.

Further on, he assessed the major efforts the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, together with other states, is making to transform the Balkans into a region of peace, confidence, and cooperation.

In conclusion, the foreign minister, Oscar Fischer, expressed his conviction that the relations between our two countries will be further intensified and expanded, and that the visit he is paying will be an new impulse to push ahead cooperation between the GDR and the PSR of Albania.

ADN Reports Dinner

LD1906201289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana (ADN)—Reis Malile, foreign minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, gave a dinner this evening in honor of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, in the course of which the two ministers exchanged toasts.

In his toast, Reis Malile described the visit as an important step in the further development of friendly relations between the two countries. This positive development was an expression of the joint determination to find possibilities and ways for expanding the fruitful cooperation in various spheres and in the mutual interest.

The foreign minister pointed to the special feelings of respect and friendship which the people of Albania entertain with regard to the people of the GDR. These resulted, in addition, to other outstanding performances in culture and science, particularly from the achievements in research in the Albanian language and culture.

"This year sees the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. In addition, 40 years have passed since the day diplomatic relations were established between our two countries. This is not a coincidence of time, but a significant sign of the history of our relations," Malile stressed.

The two states share an interest in maintaining peace in Europe and throughout the world. For this, the efforts of every country and all countries are necessary. Nothing can replace the role of the international community, in which all states are entitled to a place and to their own say, and in which they decide together those issues bound up with the destinies of the peoples and of mankind.

Albania approves of all measures taken to reduce tension and solve regional conflicts. Despite these efforts, there still are basic tensions in Europe and the world. His country will continue to join its efforts to those of the countries that genuinely work for peace and progress.

The Albanian foreign minister praised the positive process of cooperation taking place in the Balkans. It is an expression of political will, and a contribution by the states of the region toward creating the atmosphere of amity and trust necessary for peace and stability in the region, in the Mediterranean area, and in the whole of Europe.

Time has confirmed that wisdom and political realism lead to overcoming the bitter legacy of the past, and that there has been success in solving problems and in buiding up just and healthy relations. He opposed the use of force in relations between peoples. Albania will continue to direct its efforts toward the continuation and consolidation of cooperation in the Balkans, he said in conclusion.

In his reply, Oskar Fischer expressed thanks for the cordial reception in Tirana and for his host's friendly words.

Science and technology have reduced the distance between states, and responsible policy must contribute to bringing peoples closer to one another, and uniting their strivings for a secure peace and a humane life in mutually advantageous cooperation. The dialogue showed that Albania and the GDR agree on this goal.

Oskar Fischer pointed to common traditions and historical connections, and recalled the respect Karl Marx had for Albanian national hero Skanderbeg, and the protest by the illegal RED FLAG in 1939, which condemned the attack on Albania by fascist Italy.

In the GDR, fundamental lessons have been learned from history, Oskar Fischer stressed. The GDR acts according to its commitment to do everything possible to insure that never war and only peace emanate from German soil. The surest way to this is worldwide disarmament in all areas, with strict observance of the principles of equality and equal security.

Oskar Fischer pointed to the GDR's contribution to this during the 40 years of its existence, to its joint initiatives with the CSSR for the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone and a nuclear weapon-free corridor, to the reduction in the troops of the National People's Army, and other steps in the direction of disarmament. The GDR opposes the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons and demands their inclusion in the disarmament process. In this spirit, the GDR is working for the deepening of the CSCE process and welcomes the efforts of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for peace, cooperation, and trust in the Balkans.

Oskar Fischer, who noted a positive development in relations, praised the establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and the GDR in December 1949. These relations have fluctuated, but with the strengthening and extension of mutually advantageous cooperation, speedy progress now can be made. The Foreign Minister said he was certain that the forthcoming agreement of the treaty on economic, industrial, and scientific-technical cooperation and on the health system will have a stimulating effect.

In conclusion, Oskar Fischer noted that today, positive bilateral relations had a beneficial effect beyond their framework and on the international climate, as well.

Assessment of Candidates for Party Membership

AU1906173589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Quality—Basic Demand for Admitting New Party Members"]

[Excerpt] The Secretariat of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee recently discussed the work that has been done and the tasks emerging from the directives of the ninth party congress on the criteria governing the admittance of new members into the party. This is a problem of particular importance for increasing the party's leading role in every area of life.

Even before, but especially after the ninth party congress, party bodies and basic organizations had paid special attention to adding new, dedicated, revolutionary elements to the ranks of the party. Applications have been assessed, seminars and meetings have been held; the work that has been done to pass on the experience of Shkoder and Korce District Party Committees in their youth work on the question of admittance to the party, and that of Lushnje and Diber Districts on candidates' probationary periods, has meant that the work done on new membership to the party has acquired larger dimensions and has emerged from its narrow and restricted framework. There is now a more active attitude among communists and the masses in assessing the quality of new members, in close relation to the needs of basic organizations and in accordance with candidates' performances in fulfilling production tasks.

During this period, about 10,500 candidates have been admitted into the party, principally in the most important sectors of the economy, where the need for the party's work is greatest. [passage omitted]

Economic Progress Reported for 11-17 Jun

AU1706183689

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions from 11 to 17 June carries the following economic performance reports (date and time of report given in parentheses):

Berat District: The general industrial production plan has been exceeded by 2 million leks. (1800 GMT 12 June 89)

Kolonje District: The general industrial production plan to 10 June was exceeded by 2.5 million leks. (1800 GMT 11 June 89)

Lushnje District: The general industrial production plan to 10 June was exceeded by 4.1 million leks. (1800 GMT 14 June 89)

Pogradec District: The general industrial production plan to 10 June was exceeded by 5 million leks. (1800 GMT 15 June 89)

Interior Ministry Official on New Passports

AU0806135289 Sofia BTA in English 1233 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 8 (BTA)—About two thousand Muslims—Bulgarian citizens, have left for Turkey after the foreign passports bill, which was passed by the National Assembly on May 10 came into force, said Mr Georgi Yordanov, head of the Foreign Passports Department with the Ministry of the Interior.

In an interview given to ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME Mr Georgi Yordanov told that some of these people are visiting their relatives, others may have been beguiled by pan-Turkish propaganda and some others went there "to see with their own eyes the reverse of the medal", according to their own words. "I think this is not bad—to see, to make a comparison and to arrive at the only truth: that those who pull up their roots from their native land are like leaves fallen off a tree", he said.

He underlined that the law and its regulations are equally valid for all Bulgarian citizens irrespective of age, sex or religion.

"There are no restrictions as to issuing passports and exit visas for Turkey", Mr G.Yordanov stated.

In connection with the announcements made by some Turkish sources, namely, that the present trips are a continuation of the dialogue between Bulgaria and Turkey on the emigration of Muslims—Bulgarian citizens, Mr G. Yordanov said: "The question of emigration was taken off the agenda of the relations between the two countries in 1968 when the agreement they had signed to reunite the members of separated families expired. There are no citizens of whom Bulgaria may be willing to get rid of."

Now foreign passports are issued with entry visas for the respective countries and regions and their validity is no more than one year. The official of the Ministry of the Interior explained the validity terms with the entry visas granted by the respective countries. He said that a number of Western countries limit the term of stay, demand that visitors' stay be provided for in currency and require declarations that the foreigners will not seek jobs in their territory—measures which in their essence are barriers to those who intend to remain in one or another Western country for a longer period. In connection with the announcements made by some Turkish sources that some Bulgarian citizens, having crossed the border between Bulgaria and Turkey, tore their passports into pieces, he said: "After the Foreign Passports Law was enacted, such an action, which is obviously done at some instigation or in a state of exultation, is, let me use the milder term, imprudent if not foolish. Depriving themselves of Bulgarian passports, these Bulgarian citizens give up all the rights they were granted by Bulgaria, including the right on movable and immovable property, pensions, social insurance, etc. And they cannot enjoy these rights if they decide to return to their country."

The representative of the Ministry of the Interior explained that on leaving Bulgaria all citizens must observe the operative customs regulations. They can carry everything which is implied in the meaning of hand luggage, lawfully obtained foreign currency and a definite amount of money in Bulgarian leva. They can go abroad by train, by plane or in their own cars.

Issuing foreign passports facilitated, for example no affidavits guaranteeing financial maintenance are required and no document from the foreign bank is demanded to certify the possession of foreign currency. [sentence as received]

Paper Corrects Yordanov Interview

AU1206151889

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 8 June on page 3 carries the 1,000-word interview with Georgi Yordanov, "head of 'Foreign Passports' Department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs," by Petur Stanchev, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME correspondent, entitled "Gates Opened to the World" (date, place not given) that is reported by the preceding item headlined "Interior Ministry Official on New Passports." The answer by Yordanov contained in paragraph seven of the above item, appears in the following manner in the newspaper version of the interview:

[Stanchev] "Some sources report that after crossing the Turkish border, in the atmosphere of the pan-Turkish 'show displays' organized there, some Bulgarian citizens tore their passports into pieces."

[Yordanov] "This is possible. However, after the adoption of the Law on Dual Citizenship, such an action, which is obviously done at some instigation or in a state of exultation, is at least imprudent, if it does not amount to a foolish act. In depriving himself of the Bulgarian passport each citizen of our country in fact gives up all the rights granted to him by the People's Republic of Bulgaria, including the right to own movable and immovable property, pensions, social insurance, and so forth, when and if he decides to return to his roots."

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 10 June on page 2 under the headline "Correction," carries the following announcement:

"A mistake has been allowed in the interview with Georgi Yordanov, head of 'Foreign Passports' Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, entitled 'Gates Opened to the World,' and carried in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME issue No 11 of 8 June 1989. In his reply to the eighth question the interviewee answered: 'It is possible. However, after the addenda and amendments to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship, adopted by the National Assembly in May 1989, such an action is at least imprudent, and it would inevitably lead to consequences.' The rest of the text of his answer to the question has been added by the interviewer, for which he was strictly punished. The Editorial Board sincerely apologizes for the inaccuracy allowed by the editor."

Foreign Ministry on Citizens' Rights Abroad

AU2006082589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Yordan Velichkov, head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department, by Boyko Pangelov: "In Full Accordance with Generally Accepted Standards"—date, place not given]

[Text] The Law on Foreign Travel Passports adopted by the National Assembly in May 1989 makes it considerably easier for Bulgarian citizens to travel abroad. At the same time, the application of this law justifiably gives rise to many questions, most notably related to the protection of Bulgarian citizens' rights and interests outside the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The questions also extend to the acquisition of dual citizenship and the consequences stemming from this fact, and other such issues. Boykov Pangelov, representative of our editorial board, interviewed Yordan Velichkov, head of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on some of these questions:

[Pangelov] Can you describe the role of Bulgarian diplomatic and consular missions in protecting the rights and interests of Bulgarian citizens who are visiting other countries?

[Velichkov] According to international law, every state has the right and obligation to protect its citizens on its own territory and abroad. This principle is based on citizenship as man's lasting and durable link with a particular state. From the moment of entering the territory of a foreign state, the citizen is under the jurisdiction of that particular state, but simultaneously, he continues to enjoy the protection of his own state. Naturally, this principle also applies to Bulgarian citizens. In this context, the main task of the consular missions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria abroad is to defend the legitimate rights and interests of our citizens abroad. In the process of fulfilling this task, the consular workers ensure the correct application and implementation of international agreements affecting such rights and interests.

[Pangelov] What are the consular representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria authorized to do when a Bulgarian citizen appeals to them for assistance.

[Velichkov] Consular missions abroad primarily deal with administrative and notarial functions connected with accepting and handling petitions and applications submitted to them by Bulgarian citizens resident within the limits of a given consular territory. Such services also apply to the release from Bulgarian citizenship, its acquisition, and restoration, to the issuing of birth, marriage, and death certificates, to certifying and legalizing existing documents, to issuing various kinds of new certificates, and so forth. The consular official—as he thinks fit or in case of necessity—represents the Bulgarian citizen in local law courts and other organs, without special authorization. The consular official is entitled to assist our citizens in case of arrest, when the citizen in question has been indicted for a crime, sentenced to prison, or subjected to other legal or administrative sanctions. Bulgarian consuls are invested with certain rights related to the search, preservation, and handling of legacies discovered abroad and involving Bulgarian citizens. They also assist Bulgarian citizens who happen to find themselves in exceptional and particularly difficult situations. In doing all this consular officials are expected to act according to international agreements, traditions, and practices, as well as in conformity with the local and the Bulgarian legislation.

I would like to stress on this occasion that all Bulgarian citizens are entitled to the legal assistance, advice, and practical support of Bulgarian consular missions abroad, under all circumstances.

[Pangelov] Our readers have a question: Can the loss of Bulgarian citizenship involve any negative consequences?

[Velichkov] The new law permits dual citizenship, under which the individual in question is treated as a citizen of two countries on a formal-legal basis. Each of the two countries to the jurisdiction of which the citizen in question is subjected is entitled to treat him as its own citizen. In this context the renunciation of Bulgarian citizenship is unwarranted and does not result in the granting of any additional rights to a Bulgarian citizen who permanently resides abroad, nor does it make it easier for him to acquire such rights. The opposite is true: With dual citizenship, the individual in question is actually provided with more extensive rights and opportunities which he is entitled to exercise to the full extent on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on the territory of the other, respective state and which guarantee his legal equality in relation to both states.

[Pangelov] In the case of someone acquiring foreign citizenship following a more or less prolonged stay abroad, should he expect any unpleasant consequences on returning to the People's Republic of Bulgaria?

[Velichkov] The acquisition of foreign citizenship without preliminary release from Bulgarian citizenship is no longer a reason to deprive someone of his Bulgarian citizenship and to subject him to sanctions affecting his property. By preserving his Bulgarian citizenship, even after he has acquired a foreign one, a person is entitled to enter our country and maintain his relations with his family, relatives, and friends. The adoption of material and procedural guarantees for the individual's right to freely choose his citizenship and place of residence in our legislation is in full accordance with the international standards in the sphere of humanitarian cooperation and represents the basis of Bulgaria's participation in this cooperation.

[Pangelov] A question related to practical cases: What does the loss or destruction of a Bulgarian travel document mean for its owner?

[Velichkov] In the majority of international treaties signed by the People's Republic of Bulgaria dealing with visa conditions and applying to citizens of the signatory countries a hypothetical situation related to the possible loss or destruction of a national travel document on the territory of a foreign state is envisaged. The general rule stipulates that the citizen whose passport has been lost or destroyed should inform the respective authorities of the host country about the situation. These authorities, in turn, are expected to issue a document confirming his written statement about the loss or destruction of his passport. After submitting this certificate to the diplomatic or consular mission of the country of which he is a citizen, the individual shall be provided with a new passport or travel document by the diplomatic or consular service in question. This document should entitle him to leave the respective country under conditions guaranteed by the country's legislation—usually by providing him with an exit visa. The issue of a new passport, or traveling document (permit) for the return to Bulgaria is carried out in accordance with the instructions of Bulgarian official documents. The respective consular officials are expected to assist the Bulgarian citizen in applying for the necessary transit visas from those countries through which he is supposed to travel on his way home.

Party Daily Urges Improved Ties With Turkey

AU2006083389 Sofia BTA in English
0724 GMT 20 Jun 89

["Good-Neighbour, Humane, Civilized Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 20 (BTA)—Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes that the present and the future of Bulgaria and Turkey stand in the normal good-neighbour relations between them and in the Balkans, in the understanding and cooperation with all countries in the world.

An editorial in the daily condemns the attempts of certain circles in Turkey to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, the attempts to draw propaganda benefits through kindling of hostility and misleading of the world public opinion.

The article stresses that Bulgaria is ready for meetings and talks on all really existing bilateral problems on the basis of mutual respect and recognition of the interests of the two countries, sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs and other universally recognized principles and norms of international law, regulating the peaceful relations between independent states. Bulgaria stands for constructive and efficient dialogue, without its binding to preliminary conditions, stresses the paper of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

"No one will benefit from straining of relations. We all have interest in the establishing of friendly relations," points out RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The daily stresses the interrelation of world affairs today, the fact that the straining of the situation in any part of the world leads to deterioration of the international climate as a whole. That is why sensibility and reservedness, obligatory respect of the lawful interests of the partner, readiness to solve even the most difficult problems through constructive talks are necessary, adds RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

Writers Union Daily on Anti-Bulgarian Slander

AU2006130689 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT
in Bulgarian 15 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Bulgarian Name and Sun"]

[Text] Bulgarian citizens have been known for ages for their loyalty to members of other religions, their good nature, and their unresentful character. Our history and literature contain countless numbers of such examples—from Zakhari Stoyanov and Yovkov to Nikolay Khaytov and Anton Donchev. In her work entitled "The Dzhem Case" the writer-historian Vera Mutafchieva brilliantly improves the image of a representative of mankind, who personifies the negative hero in literature.

However, we cannot be loyal to renegades and traitors. We cannot endlessly accept displays of lack of restraint, unjustified mean-spirited passions, and low forms of culture, even if they are dressed up as claims for the most precious and most time-honored of human rights. This is especially true if they disregard the "other" religion in the name of the "holy" religion, whose ostensible religious claims indeed have traces and signs of the Middle Ages. To live in a country, breathe its air, eat its bread, and enjoy its blessings, and at the same time to act against it and its citizens, is as unworthy and dishonest as the ingratitude of a son toward his mother.

History knows many "citizens of the world." In certain cases they had a reason to seek refuge in foreign citizenship, but, most importantly, they did this without insulting their motherland and without presenting their claims as more important than its sovereignty and dignity. Some people have already crossed the borders of the motherland; others exceeded the limits of civilization and human dignity. However, they must not forget that compliance and patience have their limit, and that some borders cross the heart and no passport applies to them.

Many people are confused and are asking: Who are those people? What do they want? However, let us ask: Why do they merit having the Bulgarian name? How do they justify and defend having it? With their insults and unjustified claims? With their unrestrained actions, based on lack of culture and blindness caused by an imagined insult? The motherland may err, but it can never insult its children to such an extent that they will not feel that they are its children. It is in this area that some Bulgarians living abroad and working in certain "free" radio stations (free of citizenship and civil dignity) find the best soil for their liberating ideas. What can be done? If this was the goal of those lovers of justice and fighters for human rights, then they have achieved it, albeit for a brief period of time. Bulgaria has not been so stricken with grief for a long time.

Thus, let everyone decide individually: Let those who are burdened by the Bulgarian name and sun seek another sun and name in a better sky. Bulgaria is not guilty and has no obligations to such "Bulgarians."

Atmosphere at Border Checkpoints Described

AU1906183589

[Editorial Report] The Bulgarian dailies RABOTNICHESKO DELO and OTECHESTVEN FRONT of 16 June describe the atmosphere at various checkpoints on the Turkish border.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 16 June on page 2 carries a 700-word report by Dimitur Deliyski and Vanyo Stoilov, entitled: "Care and Attention for Everyone."

The authors describe the situation at the Kapitan Andreevo checkpoint as "unusual." According to them "the number of cars heading for the border sharply increased" after the 29 May statement by Todor Zhivkov on ethnic unrest. Atanas Vulchev, commander of the checkpoint is quoted as saying that "only yesterday some 4,200 people crossed the border." The authors further describe the atmosphere at the checkpoint as "calm" and point out the order that reigns. They stress that "regardless of the reasons for travel, the Bulgarian custom officers treat everyone with politeness and attention." The authors report that temporary toilet facilities have been provided at the checkpoint and that special parking places have been arranged. "Sometimes the number of cars in those parking places reaches 700." The special medical care for the travelers also is pointed out. In conclusion the authors emphasize that many of the travelers "deposit their money at the checkpoint," and receive appropriate documents "so that they can collect their money when they return."

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 16 June on pages 1 and 3 carries a 500-word report by Aleksandur Krustev entitled: "Order and Legality Reign at the Border." The author describes the situation at the Malko Turnovo checkpoint at the Turkish border. He points out the "politeness and precision" of the officials at the border, "who do not forget to wish the travelers a safe trip." Georgi Kararusinov, commander of the Malko Turnovo checkpoint, is quoted as saying that "everyone who crosses the Bulgarian border must feel Bulgarian hospitality up to the last moments on Bulgarian soil if he is a foreigner, and the care of the state if he is a Bulgarian citizen."

Travelers interviewed by Krustev point out that they had "no difficulties" in obtaining the necessary documents and that "nobody prevented them from selling their personal belongings, withdrawing their savings, and purchasing things for their trip."

Krustev points out that "he refrained from asking the travelers about the destination of their trip, to whom are they going, and how long they will stay there, because he did not want to embarass them with such questions." He asserts that "this is their business and their right guaranteed by the law." He reflects on the "tolerance of our country," and says that "other countries would certainly have demanded that the travelers make good the damage and losses caused by their departure." He concludes by quoting the commander of the checkpoint as saying: "Everyone who decides to return is welcome to do so."

Plight of Bulgarian Muslim Tourists in Turkey

AU1806181689 Sofia BTA in English
1752 GMT 18 Jun 89

["'We Found Turkey Inhospitable'" BTA headline]

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo (on the Bulgaro-Turkish border) (Zlatka Mikhaylova, BTA special correspondent)—When they learnt about the recently passed foreign passports bill, the big family of the Assenovs from Tolbukhin (northeast Bulgaria) were very pleased. "We'll make a trip. We'll go and see our relatives in Turkey", they decided. The respective documents were filled, they applied for leave of absence and on June 15 the five families departed from Ruse station. On the following day they got to Kapi Kule (Turkey) and although they had paid their fare to Istanbul, the Turkish authorities unceremoniously took them off the train. The conversation (conducted behind closed doors) was as follows:

"Are you making just a trip or you intend to stay and live here permanently?" And they were offered 50 Turkish pounds each. "If you don't want to live here, then go and make your trip in Bulgaria."

It was stifling and oppressive in the small room. They were not allowed to telephone their relatives nor to meet other people, they were escorted even to the lavatory. Two of the children felt faint.

Shocked and frightened because their passports were withheld by the Turkish officials, the five families lived in a nightmare for hours on end.

"Why do you have Bulgarian names?"

"We are Bulgarian citizens, we are not criminals, you have no right to detain us."

Their documents were in order, the Bulgarian authorities had allowed them a 90-day stay in Turkey. And yet these people were packed off onto the first available train for Bulgaria without any explanation.

Arriving in Bulgaria, the Assenovs expressed their resentment at this violation of their human dignity and regretted that they had been preventing from meeting their relatives.

Peaceful, Normal Work in Muslim Region Detailed

AU1806171189

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 24, of 14 June, on page 5 carries a 1,800-word report by Ivan Nurkov, entitled "Labor for the Common Good."

Ivan Nurkov describes the peaceful and normal agricultural and industrial activity in the Ludogorie area. Two families from the Todor Ikonomovo Village, apparently Muslims, describe their satisfaction with their living conditions and wages. The mayor of the same village is reported to have said: "The people from the village accepted the statement of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, with understanding. Several tens of people already expressed their willingness to visit their relatives in Turkey, on the basis of the new law on foreign passports. Bulgaria creates no obstacles. As a whole, the population of the village wants to calmly live and work here, where they were born, and they do not want to listen to voices from across the border, because we saw what tragic consequences this can create. However, what happened can only be a lesson to us."

Nurkov describes the agricultural and industrial successes of the region, as well as the historical circumstances that have created the Muslim population of Bulgaria. Several foreign works on Bulgarian history are quoted to support the thesis that the Bulgarian Muslims are indeed Bulgarians who have been converted to Islam by forces in previous centuries, under Ottoman oppression.

Trade Union Strives for Labor Front Mobilization

AU1906190989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 16 Jun 89 p 1

["Decision" of the bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council: "Mobilization of the Labor Front" adopted in Sofia on 15 June 1989]

[Text] Radical changes are taking place in our economic restructuring and complicated and controversial processes are under way. In this transitional period, in which long-time cliches of economic leadership and management are being replaced by new forms, structures, and mechanisms, a special situation has emerged in the national economic sector. This situation is characterized by certain difficulties and new problems. Under the present circumstances, the the newly established companies are taking their initial steps and hence, many of them have not yet started functioning properly, the new economic regulators have not yet succeeded in substantially changing the economic behavior, while material incentives are too slow in motivating and mobilizing the interests of our collectives and individual workers for more productive, high quality, and efficient labor efforts. Certain production relations have even been disrupted and the material-technical supply and production organization have deteriorated, while the state of organization and discipline in the enterprises are declining. As a result of all this, many of them have unsatisfactory economic indexes and fail to fulfill their contractual obligations.

All this exerts a negative effect on supplies for the market and foreign exchange incomes, while the ability to respond to the most urgent social needs is diminishing.

It is understood that risks and upheavals are inevitably accompanying all drastic economic changes. Nevertheless, the these circumstances are not the only reasons for the aforementioned, unfavorable phenomena. The attention of management in economic enterprises, trusts, and associations has, to a great extent, been diverted from the immediate production and plan fulfillment tasks because of the deep involvement in organizational-structural and cadre changes. The labor collectives are obliged to cope with numerous problems without being able to rely on the necessary response and assistance of the state, economic, and trade union organs for their solutions. The new system of regulations is not being consistently applied. Workers and specialists are not being informed about the initiatives adopted in connection with the transition to the company-based organization, they are not being involved in discussing and implementing the tasks related to restructuring, or in jointly overcoming the difficulties related to plan fulfillment.

This situation is additionally complicated by the difficulties stemming from the behavior on part of the descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians. Influenced by a deceitful and reactionary foreign propaganda and the actions of certain irresponsible people, a considerable number of people, grossly violating our labor legislation, are leaving their work places, thus causing difficulties for numerous enterprises. An acute shortage of manpower is being already felt in certain inhabited settlements and areas of the country which disrupts the normal pace of production and delays the implementation of certain, urgent agricultural, transportation, and construction activities.

The Bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, being concerned and alarmed about this situation, thinks that the interest of the working people and of society requires that our organization mobilize its available potential, efforts, and possibilities to promptly overcome the current difficulties and problems, in mobilizing and motivating the workers to complete their tasks and in promoting the implementation of the restructuring process. The trade union committees and councils, the municipal and federal councils are sharing this understanding and approach. The Bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, considers it correct and necessary to adopt the following instructions, so that our work may be fruitful and so that the entire trade union system may be consolidated in unanimous action:

1. A frank and critical discussion on the most urgent problems which are of decisive importance for the implementation of economic tasks, organization and discipline in production and services, for the effective use of equipment, materials, and working hours, for the production of additional goods and services, should take place at meetings in trade union organizations, brigades, workshops, and enterprises, at the initiative of the trade union committees.

Responsible economic leaders and specialists should be invited to participate in such discussions. They should brief the collectives on the plan fulfillment and general economic situation, as well as on the current measures adopted by the supreme economic managements.

Such discussions should serve to clarify the viewpoint of the trade unions along the following two main trends:

—They should clarify which specific obligations and responsibilities should be assumed by the labor collective, by individual workers, and specialists in connection with increasing material production, reducing expenditures, and improving quality, and what action the respective trade union organizations should adopt.

—The discussions should also clarify which demands, claims and proposals should be submitted to the supreme economic management, to the state, and trade union organs in connection with establishing the necessary organizational system and favorable conditions for productive work, for stimulating wages, paid in accordance with the results of the workers efforts, for satisfactory labor and everyday living conditions.

The trade unions in enterprises (sections of the companies) are expected to sum up the obligations assumed, as well as the critical remarks, proposals and claims, and to submit them to the economic (management) councils, by informing the respective collectives on the decisions that have been adopted. If a trade union committee thinks that the decisions and actions adopted on the relevant questions are ineffective, the trade union committee should express its stand to the general assembly (of trustees) in the enterprises (sections), or to the managing boards of the companies.

2. To stimulate the people's interest in the affairs of the companies, to avoid anonymity in connection with the establishment of companies, and to utilize the collective mind of the workers, the trade union committees are expected to insist that the draft code of regulations applying to the enterprises and the internal rules of the sections, as well as the regulations on workers wages, economic cost accounting, and on the internal labor system, as well as the rules on the establishment and distribution of funds should be discussed by the labor collectives and that the opinions and proposals of the collectives should be carefully evaluated.

If the managements of companies and sections should disregard the requirements of the Decree on Economic Activity and the Code of Regulations for the application of this decree which obliges them to expand self-management and to rely on the initiatives and proposals of the labor collectives, of the workers and specialists, the trade union committees, at their own initiative, should organize discussions on the internal, normative documents adopted within the trade union organizations, regardless of the question whether such documents have been accepted by the managing boards, or not, thus expressing their own stand and attitude, and the viewpoint of the collective.

3. The trade union organs should intensify their control and strictness related to the observance of the Labor Code and all its instructions, which are not in contradiction with the Decree on Economic Activity, in the purpose of consolidating order and discipline, and especially in the purpose of preventing cases of workers arbitrarily leaving their working places, cases of absenteeism, and squandering of socialist property, cases of arbitrary extension of working hours, disregard of the people's labor rights, as well as violations of labor safety regulations and measures.

4. At the initiative of the trade union committees, all existing opportunities should be evaluated and new possibilities should be opened for expanding the production of additional consumer goods and increasing the output of goods and services by using idle machines and equipment, unsold and sub-standard raw materials, and scraps, as well as local resources, and by putting the new incentives approved by the government into operation.

Special care should be devoted to the consolidation of auxiliary farms and to the increase of meat, fruit, and vegetable production.

5. All trade union organs and organizations, and the municipal Trade Union councils, as well as trade union committees in the enterprises with the most acute manpower shortage, should adopt extraordinary measures for recruiting additional manpower, for re-orienting and re-distributing the existing labor resources, for the most efficient utilization of time, and for introducing overtime, in accordance with Decision No 27 of the Council of Ministers, adopted on 8 June 1989. Our trade union

organs and cadres are expected to assist the state and economic organs which are directly involved in the control and implementation of these measures, and simultaneously, to assume their own specific obligations and responsibilities related to the following tasks:

—To clarify the current and future manpower shortage in individual enterprises and settlements;

—To stop the production of certain goods, to close down workshops and sections, as well as to eliminate jobs which are dealing with the production of goods, that are either not urgently required, or whose raw materials and placement on the market have not been guaranteed, and promptly to retrain the workers released from such jobs;

—To involve the trade union aktivists in recruiting and employing pensioners, housewives, and temporarily unemployed individuals;

—To promote active explanatory work in enterprises, offices, and organizations all over the country on conditions and additional incentives under which workers and employees will be employed, or sent on assignment in areas suffering from acute manpower shortage;

—To settle the changes in labor relations and to set up prerequisites for overtime work under specific conditions. It is necessary to apply an optimally simplified procedure that should facilitate conditions for the working people in cases of layoffs, and retraining, in connection with indemnities and fringe benefits, in introducing flexible working hours, overtime, and extended working times, in preserving and guaranteeing working places, and so forth.

—To resolve the problems of settling the living conditions for workers and employees sent on temporary assignments and for newly employed workers and specialists, by using the available trade union and departmental housing facilities, without any restrictions, and renting additional housing units.

—To organize short-term training courses for the specific jobs, to set up individual and group training during working hours held by experienced workers and specialists, as well as to organize instruction on labor safety measures, on mastering two, or more professional skills, and on coordinating them.

—To expand active propaganda-educational work among working people who are descendants of Islamized Bulgarians in order to unmask the deceptions to which they have been subject and make them understand them understand the risks and consequences to which they would be exposed in leaving their native places and jobs.

6. The central councils, the federal councils, and the Central Committee of Trade Unions, the trade union councils, and the municipal councils of trade unions are greatly urged to engage in solving the problems and fulfilling the requirements submitted by the trade union organizations and committees to fulfill economic tasks, introduce the company-based organization, and overcome the difficulties caused by manpower shortages.

7. All trade union organs are urged to engage in joint work with the party organs and organizations and with the economic managements, by manifesting their working enthusiasm and spirit of enterprise.

x x x

The Bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council is confident that all members, aktivists, and cadres of our organization will manifest their lofty sense of responsibility and patriotism, that they will devote all their efforts to achieving the results guaranteeing a prosperous life for our people, and to strengthening the unity of the Bulgarian nation.

15 June 1989, Sofia.

Writers' Weekly Denounces 'Stalinist Model'

AU0506170689

[Editorial Report] Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian No 22, of 1 June, on pages 1, 4, and 5 carries a 5,000-word article by Chavdar Dobrev entitled "Time of Reevaluation, Time of Hope," which deals with the official attitude toward Bulgarian writers.

Dobrev begins by stating his "internal conviction" that "socialism is the national fate" of Bulgaria. At the same time, he asserts: "Today we are forced to admit that serious mistakes in the construction of socialism have been made in our country, which are hardly the result of accidents or insufficient penetration of the vital dialectics alone." He points out "the total acceptance of the Stalinist model of construction of socialism," was a basic mistake, and describes negative elements of that model, such as, "overestimation of the role of coercion;" "forcing historical processes and movements;" "compromising the basic premises of Marxism-Leninism on the cooperatives, the manner of industrial renewal, and relations between the social strata;" and "refusal to take national characteristics into consideration."

Further on Dobrev stresses that in Bulgaria there were figures who "quickly adapted to the Stalinist model, because it helped them to solve problems without any alternative, and expand their prestige and material privileges." He points out the 20th CPSU Congress and the April Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) as turning points in eliminating Stalinism. However, he emphasizes that at both forums "it was historically impossible to repudiate the Stalinist model." Subsequently, criticism against that model has only been directed against some of its aspects, and that "obsolete positions" have been preserved.

Dobrev maintains that the 1970's were "a manna from heaven for the dogmatic cadres and their heirs," and describes the negative phenomena of "Brezhnev's rule," such as the spread of irresponsibility, demagogy and lies. He emphasizes that those phenomena have also been reflected in Bulgarian society, and asserts that "social elements," who developed under conditions of Brezhnev's period are still active in Bulgaria today. "They will do everything possible to turn glasnost and publicity (publichnost) into something that resembles the icing of a cake. They will seek in restructuring a unique 'symbiosis' between their own interests and the inevitability of the new social needs."

Returning to the Stalinist model and the remnants of Brezhnev's rule, Dobrev asserts that by failing to fully eliminate them "socialism fell behind in sol?ing the basic problems of modern society," and warns that "if socialism does not reform itself and conduct realistic changes in all spheres of life, its contemporary form may become an episode in human history."

Turning to the role of Bulgarian writers in the process of restructuring, Dobrev stresses that they must develop "extensive discussion about the personality and society." He believes that such a discussion will facilitate the elimination of "Stalinist-Zhdanovist primitivism" and "dogmatism." Otherwise, Dobrev maintains, "there exists the danger that new forms of literary and social extremism will prevail and will become the barometer of public opinion and its logical leader." He appeals to the writers to be "the voice and conscience not only of the comprehensive national community, but also of separate social groups, attitudes, and traditional notions, as well as champions of cooperation with foreign cultures."

Dobrev refers to Todor Zhivkov's speech at the meeting with representatives of the intelligentsia and points out that "informal organizations will emerge and multiply in the near future." In this context he asserts that "it is very important that the party and state work out a strategic line related to the forms of and mutual relations between such alternative groups of the intelligentsia, if such groups are recognized as legal." Dobrev stresses that general phrases and resistance to change "only reinforce radically critical opinions about the socialist teaching and facilitate leftist and rightist extremism." He denounces "certain writers" for "resorting to the services of Radio 'Free Europe,'" because in his opinion "cooperation with this radio station undermines the prestige of the writers." At the same time, he points out that "preventing the publication of writers' opinions and positions in the press is deplorable, because it violates the basic right of the intellectual, to freely express his ideas."

In conclusion Dobrev urges the utilization of the atmosphere of glasnost and democracy for "correcting the mistakes of the past, imbuing human personality with constructive force, correcting mutual relations between strategy and tactics in the artistic sphere, and establishing new relations between socialism's literature and society."

Husak Announces Federal Government Reshuffle

LD1906130289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] At the proposal of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee and the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee Presidium, by a decision today and in accordance with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, President of the Republic Gustav Husak has relieved the following:

Bohumil Urban, federal first deputy premier, of the post of chairman of the State Planning Commission;

Pavol Hrivnak of the post of federal first deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development;

Ivan Knotek of the post of federal deputy premier;

Karel Julis of the post of federal deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry;

Jaromir Zak of the post of minister of the federal government in charge of the Federal Price Office.

By a decision of the same day, at the proposal of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee Presidium, President of the Republic Gustav Husak has appointed the following:

Matej Lucan as federal first deputy premier;

Pavol Hrivnak as federal deputy premier;

Jaromir Zak as federal deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission;

Karel Julis as federal premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development;

Ladislav Vodrazka as federal deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry;

Alfred Sopek as federal government minister in charge of the Federal Price Office.

The newly appointed members of the federal government were sworn in today at Prague Castle in accordance with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation by the president of the Republic. Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec was at the swearing-in ceremony.

Soviet Battalion Leaves for Belorussia

LD2006105389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] A battalion of Soviet Army engineers is leaving Olomouc today for the Soviet Union. Thus, last year's mutual agreement of Warsaw Pact member states on the reduction of number of troops and weapons in central Europe is being fulfilled. Editor Stanislav Benda reports on this event from Olomouc:

[Benda] Since about 0900, members of the Soviet battalion of engineers have been loading their technical equipment on a cargo train. The battalion, which will leave for their new post in Belorussia, consists of about 300 soldiers and 100 vehicles of engineering equipment. The first train will leave Olomouc today at 1600. Others will follow in the period up to 24 June.

At 0700 a meeting began in the barracks where the battalion of engineers served. Party and state representatives of the city, district, and region, officers of the Czechoslovak People's Army, citizens of Olomouc, and pioneers were there. Girls and boys prepared souvenirs for the soldiers to remember their stay here with pleasure and every soldier got flowers from them to say good-bye. Ladislav Brumek, secretary of the regional Czechoslovak Communist Party Committee, highly praised the task carried out by the Soviet engineers on our state's territory. He highlighted their combat and political training and discipline, which served as examples for our troops. By the way, this engineers' battalion was one of the best units of the whole central group of Soviet forces in our country. Comrade Brumek also recalled the long tradition of friendship between our countries, a friendship that is enduring.

This withdrawal of another Soviet unit from our territory clearly adds another positive impetus to disarmament and to strengthening confidence and security in Europe—something which is currently being discussed at Vienna. It is correct that the experts at those talks can see a specific step and our sincere endeavor to contribute our share to the firm foundations of the European home.

Vaclavik Interviewed on Military Cuts Policy

LD1906143189 Prague CTK in English 1252 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 19 (CTK)—The task of the Czechoslovak Army is to continuously ensure reliable defence of the country and of the socialist community, Czechoslovak Minister of Defence Army General Milan Vaclavik told CTK here today.

Dealing with the concrete realization of the declaration of the Council of State on defence, issued more than four months ago, he said that the planning of organizational changes for 1989-90 has been completed and that a complicated period of their realization is starting. The organizational changes will concern some 30,000 persons in more than 200 formations and facilities of the Czechoslovak People's Army. One-third of the changes will be carried out this year and two-thirds next year, Vaclavik stressed.

The dissolution of an air force regiment has already started and the number of other formations will be reduced during the summer months, he continued. Military building organizations will be created in 1989-1990, whose work will be subordinated to government tasks connected with the fulfilment of the ecological program, reconstruction works in the West Bohemian border regions and modernization of flats in certain localities. Railway engineers' units which are to reconstruct and maintain railways should be reinforced by 2,000 men. Some 3,000 soldiers were deployed in selected branches in May to help national economy, the Czechoslovak defence minister said, adding that all these measures reflect the efforts of Czechoslovakia at detente and strengthening of peace in Europe.

A detailed timetable for cutting the number of tanks by 850 and of armoured vehicles by 165 till the end of 1990 has been elaborated. Some of the tanks and armoured vehicles will be liquidated, aggregates and spare parts will be used in enterprises of the Czechoslovak People's Army and a certain number of the tanks will be used in various branches of national economy, Milan Vaclavik said, and underlined that the liquidation of tanks in series will be started in July 1989.

Answering the question which is being frequently discussed among young people if the military service in Czechoslovakia could be shortened, he said that the solution of this question is not in the competence of the Federal Ministry of Defence. One-sided steps have been done leading to the reduction of the number of persons and armament and in the reorganization of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the spirit of reasonable sufficiency. If there are no similar disarmament steps from the side of NATO, the shortening of military service can be hardly considered, he stressed, adding that various opinions and suggestions in connection with the shorthening of the military service are being voiced by some people with the aim to impede civil responsibility. These opinions reflect other interests than the building and defence of socialism, the Czechoslovak minister of defence underlined.

According to the former practice soldiers were not allowed to perform military service in the region of their permanent residence or in neighbouring districts. This regulation has been changed so that soldiers are not permitted to perform military service only in the district of their permanent residence. There are some exceptions concerning e.g. soldiers with serious family or social problems, railway engineers, top performance sportsmen and artists, Milan Vaclavik said.

'Anti-Soviet Attacks' at Nagy Burial Condemned

LD2006102989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Statistical data shows that Austrian television can be watched in our country by approximately 22 percent of our citizens. Adding to that the people who watch Hungarian television, many of us had the opportunity to watch the Friday burial of Imre Nagy in Budapest; and, of course, to take one's own view of this event.

The event is being discussed especially in Hungary. Some of the views expressed in Hungary are reported by our correspondent Tomas Borec.

[Borec] Rude anti-communist and anti-Soviet attacks by some speakers at Heroes Square in Budapest marred a commemorative ceremony which, according to expectations, should also have been an act of national reconciliation. Speeches provoked a number of responses in Hungary itself as well as abroad. No wonder that our people feel uneasy about this development, said Comrade Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in Presov on Friday.

Foreign Minister Guyla Horn reacted yesterday on Hungarian radio to Comrade Fojtik's speech. He rejected it and called it an interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.

Nevertheless, a statement of the biggest youth organization, the Democratic Youth League, was published in Budapest. The league dissociated itself from Viktor Orban's unscrupulous speech at the burial. The statement also notes that although the representatives of the opposition Federation of Young Democrats spoke on behalf of youth, he voiced only the view of the minority. At the end of its statement, the Democratic Federation of Youth warns that any new demogogy in Hungary can hinder the search for society's renewal.

Budapest Reports Prague Rights Demonstration

LD2006002589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] In Prague, several hundred people of the opposition staged a demonstration because the authorities did not permit a forum on human rights last week. The police did not prevent the peaceful demonstration in which members of six Czechoslovak opposition groups formed a human chain and marched around the streets near Wenceslas Square.

At the same time as the demonstration, a 22-year-old opposition member in a provincial town was conditionally released. She had been sentenced to 9 months imprisonment for her participation in a demonstration in Wenceslas Square last January. The Czechoslovak court cut the sentence in half for good behavior.

Jakes Chairs National Front Presidium Meeting

LD1906213389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee Presidium, at a meeting today chaired by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the party Central committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee, voiced full support for the conclusions of the 14th session of the party Central Committee and stressed the need for them to be constructively implemented. It also discussed progress on preparation of the housing policy principles in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the prospects up to the year 2005.

It also discussed preparation for a joint session of the Central Committees of the National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and of both republics which will be held in Prague on 27 June. It will examine environmental protection.

The Presidium then also discussed a draft of further parts of the political-legal principles of the new Constitution, focusing on the area of the basic rights and duties of citizens and the highest constitutional organs.

Jakes Attends Federal Assembly Discussion

LD1906214189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] The Federal Assembly Presidium discussed today, in the presence of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, a report on the implementation of the election platform of the National Front in Bratislava over the past 3 years. It noted that thanks to the responsible attitude and efforts of national committees and organizations of the National Front, the implementation of the election platform has brought about a number of positive results. Serious problems, above all in the construction of investment projects, transport, trade, and services to the population and in the creation and protection of the environment do, however, spoil these results to a considerable extent.

The Presidium also noted a report on the preparation of the new constitution and reviewed the full text of the Economic Code and the law on economic arbitration.

Joint Chamber Meeting at Federal Assembly

LD2006085789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] A joint session of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly began in Prague today. Correspondent Ladislav Mikus reports now from the Federal Assembly building:

[Mikus] Today's session has opened; it is chaired by Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly. During the opening, deputies cordially welcomed the highest party and state representatives; Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak; leading representatives of organs and organizations of the National Front; members of the federal government, headed by the Premier Ladislav Adamec who has already begun delivering a report on the development of the national economy and the current tasks.

All those present, first of all, paid tribute to the memory of the late Deputy Zdenek Kucera. Then Comrade Indra briefed deputies on changes in the federal government made yesterday by the president of the Republic according the constitutional law and wished new members of the government, on behalf of deputies, many successes in their responsible work. After the approval of the deliberation program, the first item on the agenda was dealt with: the verification of the validity of elections of new deputies in 10 constituencies, on which reports of the Mandate and Auditing Committees of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations were delivered by Eva Zeleznikova and Bozena Kocinova respectively. They noted that all have been elected legally by a majority of votes.

Then all the newly elected deputies took the oath prescribed by the Constitution. In the election of these new deputies, new elements were tried out: a system of more than one candidate for the seat.

After the federal government's report, which is being delivered by Premier Ladislav Adamec, the government proposed draft of the state final account of the Czechoslovak federation will be presented by Finance Minister Jan Stejskal; a discussion will then follow. So far 15 deputies have asked to speak in it.

Jakes Greets Karel Hoffmann on 65th Birthday

AU1906152389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jun 89 p 1

["z"-signed report: "On Comrade Karel Hoffmann's Jubilee"]

[Excerpts] Prague (z)—Today, on 15 June 1989, Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, deputy to the People's Chamber, and member of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium, celebrates his 65th birthday. [passage omitted]

In a letter Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, cordially congratulated Comrade Karel Hoffmann on his jubilee. He highly assessed his dedicated work in the party, in the trade unions, and in state bodies for the benefit of socialist construction and our country's international activity. He emphasized his openness and his ability to work on a team and to evaluate problems and accomplish work in a businesslike, critical way. The letter draws particular attention to Comrade Karel Hoffmann's active participation in the solution of the problems of restructuring and democratization of our society and to the heed which he pays to improving the party's activity and the flow of information and to intensifying the CPCZ Central Committee's links with lower party bodies.

Adamec, Soviet Ambassador Address Peace Rally

LD1806145589 Prague CTK in English 1339 GMT 18 Jun 89

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, June 18 (CTK)—"The policy of restructuring basically changes our attitude to the world surrounding us", Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec told a peace rally here today.

"Opening ourselves to the world outside is in accord with the interests of our country and the needs of developing socialism", the premier said.

He said that problems of averting the threat of wars and ecological catastrophes are acquiring a worldwide character and the dependence of countries on one another is increasing. He voiced support for the message to the nations of the world, adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, which said in part that it would be absurd to turn international relations into an arena of ideological wars, and stressed that "we are in favour of putting an end to hostility between nations, and support the idea that equal security of all, ensured above all by political means, is necessary".

Referring to the anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, which will be marked this year, the premier said "We support everything that benefits the legal rights of inhabitants of our homeland. We have no intention to reopen old wounds, to open issues closed by history. We want to have good relations with all countries, in particular the neighboring ones. We avoid unnecessary misunderstandings through greater public information and we, naturally, expect others to do the same".

Ladislav Adamec said the solution to problems mankind faces today requires new approaches, and in this context recalled the unilateral armed forces cuts by the socialist countries and moves in the ecological sphere.

The meeting was also addressed by Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin who said inter alia that the results of the talks of Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes with Soviet officials during his April visit to Moscow form a solid foundation for reaching a new degree of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation.

He also said that the unity of opinions of Soviet and Czechoslovak Communists and the exchange of experiences are priceless. Naturally each country conducts its restructuring process in its own way but the need to advance continuously and to keep up with the requirements of society and the opinion of the masses applies to all, the ambassador added.

Adamec, GDR's Soelle Discuss Further Cooperation

LD1906165989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec held talks in Prague today with Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on further economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries. They positively assessed developments to date and possibilities of further broadening of relations, in which both sides are interested. Horst Soelle is also the chairman, for the GDR side, of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation of the two countries.

Urban Receives GDR's Soelle

LD1906192989 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban and GDR Deputy Premier Horst Soelle paid great attention during their meeting here today to the fulfilment of a program of development between Czechoslovakia and the GDR up to the year 2000.

In particular, the chairmen of the two sections of the joint committee for the two countries' economic and scienfitific-technological cooperation focused on the introduction of sophisticated technologies into production, including measures aimed at more efficient scientific-technological cooperation.

The two officials further discussed some topical issues of mutual goods' exchange and foreign-trade ties, and assessed the work on the coordination of the two countries' national economic plans for 1991-95.

CPSL's Ignac Janak Interviewed on Year's Tasks

AU2006073189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, by Stefan Bachar, chief editor of PRAVDA; Jozef Kiss, chief editor of UJ SZO; and Emil Polak, chief editor of NOVE SLOVO: "Capitalizing on the Collective Wisdom of the Party and Society"—date, place not given; opening paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Comrade Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, received Comrade Stefan Bachar, member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of PRAVDA; Comrade Jozef Kiss, member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of UJ SZO; and Comrade Emil Polak, chief editor of NOVE SLOVO, and replied to their questions on our society's key tasks in connection with the forthcoming annual members meetings of primary party organizations and the period of preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

[Question] It is possible to say that preparations for the CPSL Congress, which the April session of the CPSL Central Committee convened for 6 April 1990, have got fully under way. To which tasks did the April session direct the attention of party bodies and organizations in Slovakia in the precongress period?

[Janak] We view the preparations for the CPSL Congress, upon which we embarked when it was announced, as an inseparable part of the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. We consider the main issue to be the activation and strengthening of the party, the intensification of its bonds with the people, and the consistent implementation of restructuring in the entire society. The Communists' ideological, educational, political, and organizational work must be linked with an energetic struggle to mobilize people's energy, increase their activity and initiative, ensure a comprehensive fulfillment of this year's tasks, and create good prerequisites for transition to the new economic mechanism. We regard it as important that, in setting forth tasks, the congress should proceed from a businesslike analysis of the preceding period.

The congress is not just the delegates' meeting itself, but it also involves the utilization of the collective wisdom of the party and society at large on the road of further socioeconomic and cultural development. In preparing the congress, it is necessary, with the broadest possible participation of Communists and other working people, to cope with economic problems, improve our socialist political system, and eliminate manifestations of bureaucratism and other abuses that embitter people's lives.

An important place in the precongress period will be occupied by annual members' meetings and party conferences. Of course, this importance will depend on how their preparation is approached. It needs to be realized at all levels of the party structure that repeating old approaches will no longer suffice today. The annual meetings should produce new and bold inspiration for improving party work and increasing the party's capacity for realization and thereby contribute to more effective forms and methods of political guidance and introduce a new spirit in the enforcement of the Leninist principles and methods of Communists' work during the implementation of the tasks of social restructuring.

[Question] The preparation of and the first steps in the restructuring of the economic mechanism and development of socialist democracy revealed the necessity of further deepening the leading role of the party in society and of carrying out restructuring in the work of the party itself. How did the session of the CPSL Central Committee assess the implementation of these tasks in the conditions in Slovakia?

[Janak] The year that has elapsed since the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the subsequent session of the CPSL Central Committee allows us to evaluate in a way and to generally apply the practical experience that we have acquired. This experience bears out that, step by step, some positive changes are taking place in the activity of CPSL Central Committee bodies and in the activity of territorially based party organizations. The political atmosphere in many party organizations is changing, their activity is growing, they are becoming more demanding, but also more critical. Collectiveness as the basic method of discussion and decisionmaking in the party is deepening. The increase in the number of CPSL Central Committee standing commissions from 4 to 10 and the changes in the style and contents of their work have created scope for a broader involvement of CPSL Central Committee members and candidate members in the formulation and implementation of political decisions. Regional and district party committees are proceeding in a similar way.

Many territorially based party bodies are involving the general public, labor collectives, and social organizations in the solution of topical tasks and problems such as the development of services, social care, transportation, and ecology.

The flow of information within the party and in society at large is improving. The center more flexibly and specifically responds to various demands and to information from below, from primary organizations.

In this connection, I would like to stress that in preparing annual members' meetings, party conferences, and the CPSL Congress we are concerned, in particular, with improving the quality of the work of primary party organizations, and with promoting their responsibility for and independence in implementing party policy.

The guidance and assistance of district party committees play an irreplaceable role in increasing the effectiveness of primary organizations' work and improving their functioning as the political core of labor collectives. However, they often fail to provide this guidance and assistance in a systematic and differentiated way. Some district party committees replace immediate contact with Communists and specific assistance by all sorts of written "methodological" materials.

Questions concerning the implementation of the party's functions in society, the division of labor within the political system, and the specific application of political guidance are a topical task, one that is connected with the more effective application of the party's leading role and with its operation as a political vanguard. Even though many correct ideas have been expressed at party congresses and in theoretical papers about the need for party bodies not to supplant economic and state bodies, practical life is changing only slowly. This is not only a reflection of the subjective reluctance or inability of party bodies to change the deeply ingrained style of work. Party organizations are often "pushed" to supplant the appropriate responsible personnel of other agencies and institutions. The power of inertia and routine is great.

It needs to be openly said that there are great differences in the abilities and quality of work of individual primary but also district party organizations. Many of them have lapsed into self-complacency. They read the materials of the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee and declared that they are already doing all these things. It has not been fully realized everywhere that the activation of the entire society must be preceded by the activation of the party, of its bodies and organizations.

There are still quite a number of party committees which wait for instructions from above. At the April session of the CPSL Central Committee it was stressed that the restructuring of party work is a process of revolutionary continuity and innovation, that it requires that we build on everything that is positive and that has acquitted itself well, and that we energetically part ways with methods and forms of work that are ineffective and obsolete. We do not have ready-made recipes for everything. Search brings with it certain risks, but the passive marking of time would be the greatest risk of all.

The party has become the initiator of restructuring, of shedding all the ballast and formalism which weigh down on the development of our society in its transition to a qualitatively higher level. Restructuring has met with the support of the entire society, it has triggered the masses' activity and initiative. The party has taken the lead in this movement, it is setting the tone, and reinforcing creative elements in the interest of the revolutionary renewal of the socialist society. Communists must live in the midst of real life, must know people's thoughts, longings, interests, and concerns, and win their trust by means of exemplary work and the consistent solution of problems.

[Question] The tasks the party is facing thus require the Communists' great activity and initiative....

[Janak] We consider the most important task of the precongress period to be the activation of each of the more than 450,000 Communists in Slovakia. We must demand of every member and candidate member of the party that he live and act like a Communist. It is their duty to walk in the front ranks of pioneers, to set an example, and to persuade others by deeds. Day after day. At the workplace and in private life. Citizens evaluate the entire party and its moral profile primarily on the basis of their knowledge of the work and life of the Communists among their fellow workers.

Reinforcing such approaches is also the aim of the party committees' current interviews with party members and candidate members, which are a constituent part of the preparation for annual members meetings. Everywhere these interviews should be frank talks about the fulfillment of duties, about one's personal share in the formulation and implementation of party policy, in the implementation of restructuring. In other words, they should not be mere conversations; their purpose is to assign specific tasks to every party member.

As for the development and shaping of the party's membership base in Slovakia, it can be said that a generally favorable trend continued in the preceding period, a trend which is in conformity with the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

The continuity of the class nature of the party as a party of the workers class is being ensured. Workers today account for 42.7 percent of the members base of the party in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR]. The party does not need them in its ranks in order to be able to show their high proportion, but because they introduce revolutionary thrust into the party, and a demanding and open atmosphere. Without them the party would lose the life-giving bonds with the workers class. At the same time, we realize the qualitative changes in the structure of the workers class, the growing proportion of mental and intellectual work, and its sociopolitical implications. This confronts our theory and practice with the task of giving specific replies to these questions.

In connection with the positive changes in the composition of the party in Slovakia, I would like to stress the role of increasing the representation of women in the party. Since 1971 the proportion of women in the party has increased from 13.7 to 23.5 percent, which is undeniably a success. Of course, at the same time we see that this still does not correspond to the participation of women in our society.

Naturally, there are a number of problems and shortcomings in the care for the quality of the party. There are still many party organizations which have not come to understand in their entirety the tasks in improving the quality of and in expanding the membership base. They see the fulfillment of tasks as living merely in the admission of new members and not in improving the work of the existing membership base. We must remember that approximately one in seven adult citizens of the Slovak SR is organized in the party at present.

We also receive letters and notices about some party members behaving arrogantly, misusing their rank, and violating socialist ethics and laws. Party bodies and organizations must call such members to account in each instance and everywhere.

[Question] How is this reflected in disciplinary procedures?

[Janak] In 1988, for example, 435 members and candidate members were expelled from the CPSL and 909 candidate members were crossed off the register of candidate members. Admittedly, the number of crossed-off candidate members in particular shows that there is room for improvement in ideological and educational work prior to the admission of candidate members. Bureaucratic, formalistic, and "quota"-based approaches are inadmissible when work with the people is involved. It is necessary to get rid of them as soon as possible. Everywhere, it is necessary to analyze the situation, work toward the consistent solution of problems, and look for a more effective form of work, especially with the up-and-coming young generation of workers.

[Question] Restructuring has brought new, more demanding criteria in the selection, training, and deployment of cadres. Is it possible to generalize the experience gained so far from the implementation of new approaches in cadre work?

[Janak] Even today, cadres remain the decisive instrument of implementing party policy. Party bodies in Slovakia have taken specific steps to implement the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee on improving cadre policy. One of these steps was the approval of a new cadre roster of the CPSL Central Committee.

Demands on the work of cadres are increasing and the public monitoring of their activity is expanding, in harmony with the new requirements. This makes it necessary that cadres be proposed for office who are comprehensively qualified, command natural authority among labor collectives, and enjoy their trust and support—cadres not only from the ranks of Communists, but also from the ranks of non-Communists and members of other parties. Greater use must be made of the possibility of selecting and preparing cadres from the ranks of women and young people. The role and responsibility of primary party organizations, of social organizations, and of the National Front as a whole has greatly increased in this respect.

In the preceding period, territorially based party bodies and primary party organizations started to make broader use of the form of holding to account the party functionaries, the Communists in senior managerial positions, and the functionaries of national committees and social organizations. The lessons and experiences acquired thus far are predominantly positive: The cadres' responsibility for their work toward party and labor collectives is increasing. However, we have also learned that some senior managers, instead of deeply pondering the solution to problems and their elimination, stress the amount of work they have and enumerate problems and their objective causes.

The initial experience with the election of managerial staffs shows that in party committees and labor collectives it is necessary to approach their selection and deployment far more thoughtfully and sensitively. The failure of some proposed candidates to get elected as directors of state enterprises, for example, showed that enterprise founders, in particular, were over-hasty in selecting candidates and failed to respect the views of the working people. From this we draw the lesson that it is necessary to develop mass political work far more purposefully, to continuously improve the quality of the cadres' professional and political training, and to consult labor collectives more.

[Question] How is the preparation of cadres for the new party committees and party bodies being implemented?

[Janak] It is in full swing.

Party bodies and primary organizations are evaluating the work of their members to date. At meetings with Communists and at sessions of party groups the democratic preparation of annual members meetings and party conferences in terms of cadres is taking place. Its aim is to have those Communists work in party bodies who command great natural authority in party and labor collectives, and who are capable of moving things ahead.

We consider good and responsible cadre preparation to be a key task, because the quality of the work of party committees and their functionaries determines to a great extent the activity of entire party organizations and their ability to act. During the preparation of cadres it is necessary to pay attention to continuity and a healthy turnover among cadres, and to see to it that their composition is based on the structure of the membership base.

[Question] Social restructuring has also set the party new tasks in the sphere of ideological work. To which of these is it necessary to pay the greatest attention?

[Janak] In order for restructuring to really become the affair of everyone, for all people to devote their know-how, talents, and abilities to the creative process of the revolutionary changes oriented toward new quality in our society, we must achieve a close interlinkage between ideoeducational activity and the realization of economic reform, the social program, and democratization, and the solving of problems and people's everyday worries. The elimination of shortcomings from the life of society, which can be done without investments and special orders from above and which does not require more than a principled approach and intolerance of bureaucracy and various other ills, must become a matter of course.

The fundamental prerequisite for making restructuring a success is to activate people, to change their way of thinking and their behavior to utilize all the potential of socialism and assume the position, powers, and duties of real managers and administrators of the country. The qualitatively new development of socialism requires that the effectiveness of ideological work be enhanced. The main principle here is open policy and the flow of information to the public, which we must apply not only at the center and in the instruments of mass information and the propaganda media which have a statewide impact, but also at all levels, as well as in the regional and district press.

We demand that the party organizations become the guarantors of a public, pragmatic, and truthful analysis of the situation within the range of their activity, of a frank, everyday dialogue with the working people. The application of the experience of work collectives, the elimination of problems that can be solved, and the involvement of all working people in all economic and social processes, in local restructuring which requires participation in both decisionmaking and the creation of new values, must be the result.

Ideological work cannot avoid reacting promptly to the international contexts of present-day developments. In this sense, the fundamental task is to clarify the influence which the new thinking asserted by the Soviet Union is having on solving mankind's problems, especially on averting the nuclear and ecological imperilment of civilization, and on humanizing relations among states and making them equal. However, we cannot ignore the fact that anticommunist centers and their propaganda instruments do not respect one of the main principles of the new thinking, which requires that international relations be rid of ideological malice. Not only did they not stop creating a picture of us as an enemy and construing our history in distorted manner, but, moreover, they are helping to organize the antisocialist actions of opposition groups.

By consistently realizing the restructuring program, we are countering the plans of contemporary anticommunism to misuse restructuring to weaken socialism. In the struggle against antisocialist forces we will employ, above all, political means and expose their true objectives.

Antisocialist forces abroad, but also some individuals in our country, are trying to disturb the fraternal coexistence of our nations and nationalities. The party has devoted and will devote consistent attention to this problem. We are addressing justified demands and constructive proposals, and from Leninist positions we are resolving the problems posed by life. We are preventing friction and will not permit sensitive issues connected with the fraternal coexistence of our nations and nationalities to become the subject of irresponsible and unhealthy emotions.

Ideological work is not the affair of specialized institutions, professional workers, and the party apparatus alone. The duty of all Communists, without exception, is to be ideologically active among fellow citizens, among the youth, at worksites, or in the home. From everyone we expect a personal example of unity of words and actions, and courage not to be afraid of ideological confrontations. From Communist parents one naturally demands a greater degree of responsibility for the education of children, for the orientation of weltanschauung, and a commitment to socialism and restructuring.

We place particularly great demands on party members who are active in the press, radio, and television, because the relationship of citizens toward restructuring and socialism depends to a considerable degree on the mass information and propaganda instruments, which daily influence public opinion. Their duty is to operate in such a way as to fulfill the role of a broad democratic platform, of a place where opinions and experience are exchanged, where solutions are sought, and where positive actions and experience worth following are popularized.

[Question] What demands does the comprehensive mastering of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan place on the party bodies?

[Janak] After the 17th CPCZ Congress our society entered a new stage of development. We have embarked upon the path of accelerating the country's social and economic development by means of intensification of the national economy.

From the viewpoint of the need for growth in the people's standard of living, for the development of the economy of Slovakia and its increased share in the creation of national resources, in the Eighth 5-Year Plan it was necessary to accelerate the dynamism of economic development to such an extent as to make the creation of national income exceed the statewide national income. In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan, national income rose by 12.5 percent. This growth made it possible to ensure the plans regarding the population's personal consumption. Social consumption also increased. Pensions were raised. In many sectors it was possible to talk in detail about good results, to see examples of the working people's selflessness and their contribution to society. This is evidence that work collectives are honestly striving to fulfill their tasks.

Despite that, we have no reason to be satisfied with the development of the economy in Slovakia to date. We lag behind the tasks of the 5-year plan in terms of quality, social productivity, and the demands which the creation of the national income places on investments, energy consumption, and transportation requirements. The state of the economy is not balanced.

Introducing the latest scientific and technological findings into practice is slow, and in Slovakia there is insufficient involvement of organizations in the international division of labor. In view of the number of continuing shortcomings, capital construction thus far has not been yielding the results we expect. Considerable difficulties persist in comprehensive housing construction, in the construction of health- and social care-related projects, and in the sphere of ecological projects.

A number of adopted decisions designed to improve supplier-customer relations are not being implemented. The consequences are slowdowns in production and the fact that tasks are not being fulfilled smoothly, something which the working people rightly criticize. Improvements require that in all enterprises the fulfillment of suppliers' duties and of economic contracts also be put under party control. The same applies to the solution of everyday problems, which are under the jurisdiction of the central bodies. We must resolutely combat instances of speculation and various cunning schemes.

Ensuring the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan requires great political-organizational and control work from party bodies and organizations. In party work we must concentrate greater attention on resolving tasks which, to date, we have not mastered in qualitative terms.

Some of the urgent tasks in Slovakia lie in increasing the performance of the economy and the effectiveness and quality of production, and making the most of our material resource and intellectual potential. Currently, measures are being worked out by the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic which are designed to improve the efficiency of the Slovak economy. We cannot fulfill that task as long we fail to carry out progressive structural changes in production in accordance with the needs of the Czechoslovak economy, as long as we do not speed up the introduction of the latest findings of science and technology into production and become more markedly involved in the international division of labor.

The key task is to expand and deepen our relations with enterprises and organizations in the USSR and the other CEMA states. New opportunities are cropping up in the form of cooperation, direct production relations, and joint institutes and ventures, especially with enterprises in the Ukrainian SSR. Those opportunities, however, place considerably higher demands on entrepreneurship, the quality of production, management, organizational work, and on consistent fulfillment of commitments assumed within the framework of cooperation. We must also react faster and more flexibly to new opportunities for economic cooperation with the nonsocialist countries.

Newly established state enterprises and their self-management bodies should do all they can to fulfill the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and, in an exacting manner, assess the comprehensive ensuring of the 1990 plan under conditions of economic accountability and self-financing, and the new economic rules. To do this, they should use the period of preparations for the annual membership meetings, and the conferences and the congress of the party. Fulfilling the tasks of the 5-year plan will create the necessary starting base for further advancement on the path of the acceleration of our social and economic development.

[Question] The purpose of the CPCZ Central Committee's document entitled The Principles For the Activation of the National Front and the Organizations Affiliated in It is to increase their participation in the shaping, realization, and monitoring of policy. How are these principles being implemented in life?

[Janak] We are striving to perfect our political system and its important component—the National Front, make maximum use of all the opportunities it provides, improve the mechanism by which it functions, define all components of the division of labor, and make them cooperate more closely. The broad popular base of the National Front not only represents the interests, needs, and aspirations of citizens, but also creates scope for their creative activity, to increase their participation in the management of society, and in shaping, realizing, and monitoring policy.

However, prerequisites are one aspect of the matter and everyday practice is another. Information to date bears out the fact that the possibilities which the National Front create are not fully utilized. That was also the main reason why the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium adopted principles for its activation. All the political parties, social, and special interest organizations expressed their support for the document. We already have the first results of its implementation. They indicate that the majority of social and special interest organizations are striving to bring the contents of their activity closer to the tasks of restructuring.

However, it is impossible not to see that the level of work of the organs and organizations of the National Front still does not correspond to the needs and requirements which we are emphasizing for the further improvement of our political system. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's proposals have so far not been implemented in their entire scope and at all levels. In particular, the primary elements are not fully succeeding in this, that is, those elements where decisions are being made on the specific implementation of policy.

In the organs and organizations affiliated in the National Front it is necessary to use more initiative in seeking methods of mobilizing forces in the interest of the comprehensive fulfillment of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The issue is that by utilizing the specific features of individual organizations to a greater extent than up until now, people come together to fulfill party policy irrespective of political affiliation, nationality, or religious conviction. The issue is to resist various attempts to impair the moral and political unity of the people and to take more decisive steps against those who abuse our shortcomings and problems or the religious sentiment of fellow citizens, or who count on nationalism.

The National Front is the place for the further intensification of the unity of our peoples and nationalities, for the resolution of stimulating proposals, and for strengthening and further developing national ties in the spirit of Czechoslovak patriotism and internationalism.

Particularly at the present time, it is very important to involve people in the management of society, to conduct a dialogue and an exchange of views, to better utilize the capabilities of the collectives and individuals, and develop their specific interests. It is necessary to pay greater attention to the election program of the National Front as the significant method of the political activity of the citizens.

[Question] The overwhelming majority of society has identified itself with restructuring. However, opinions are also cropping up according to which the present changes are allegedly overstepping the boundary of socialist principles. Again, according to other opinions, these changes are not achieving real restructuring in depth.

[Janak] Fears concerning the breach of the principles of socialism are unfounded. We have embarked upon restructuring not because the essence of our system does not suit us, but, on the contrary, so that we create much more for man by making use of all its possibilities and advantages.

In the interest of the greater utilization of the economic potential in the creation of resources and for the better satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of our people we decided to implement economic reform, to replace the administrative command system of management with an economic one, and to introduce economic accountability and self-financing. The new measures in the economy are directed toward strengthening and intensifying socialist manufacturing relations, toward the maintenance and gradual improvement of the quality of the standard of living of our citizen, and toward the harmonious development of his personality.

We can guarantee further dynamic development only by an improvement in individual work and better management. We do not envisage a free labor market or an army of unemployed. During the structural changes the issue of released employees will be resolved by a change of profession, requalification, and the creation of new work opportunities.

Similarly, the election of self-management bodies in state enterprises does not mean the introduction of unrestrained elements into the manufacturing process. On the contrary, workers councils are to contribute to an improvement of the management and organization of labor, to increased order, and working and technological discipline, because only in this way is it possible to achieve higher productivity. Connected with material and moral incentives is the eradication of unjust and harmful egalitarianism and the introduction of remuneration strictly according to the work carried out.

Neither an open policy nor the free flow of public information breach the principles of socialism. The pluralism of views within the framework of the socialist concept, which helps to seek the most suitable solution to the problems and aims, does not oppose them either. The intensification of socialist democracy means utilizing more the active strength of the people and their broad participation in the economic processes and also in the administration and management of society, that is, in the creative development of socialism.

We must not let ourselves be influenced by enemy propaganda which slanders us by saying that we are only talking about restructuring but are not doing anything for it. It is necessary to adhere to the facts which testify to the appropriate depth of the changes associated with restructuring, which our Communist party started with initiative 1 and ½ years ago at the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session, and is gradually concretizing its content for individual spheres.

We will continue to proceed carefully but tirelessly and ever forward, in harmony with the needs of the people, respecting our conditions and the latest historical experience.

[Question] Each congress debate is a certain culmination of work on society's self-recognition. How do social science establishments participate in this?

[Janak] Social science establishments in Slovakia are involved in the creation of fundamental party documents—in the principles of the CPCZ program and Statutes and also in the very preparation of the content of the 18th CPCZ Congress and CPSL congress through the medium of the participation of scientists in the appropriate working groups and commissions. They are also participating in the preparation of the new CSSR Constitution. In connection with their participation in the preparation of the congresses, they are taking part in expert opinion and forecasting activity. The CPSL Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPCZ Central Committee Advanced School of Politics Faculty in Bratislava, the Slovak Academy of Sciences social science institutes, and the universities are contributing to the preparation of the CPSL congress with their research on key issues of the development of our society.

We have a primary interest in ensuring that the social sciences more actively embark upon the creation and implementation of the policy of restructuring, that social science research in Slovakia produces purposeful scientific statements on the state, development, and prospects for society, and that it contributes to the development of contemporary Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism.

[Question] Esteemed comrade First Secretary, in conclusion, how would you like to sum up the preparation of the annual party discussions and the participation of Communists and the general public in them?

[Janak] During the preparation and course of the annual meetings of Communists it is necessary to realize that these will be discussions by the highest organs of the leading political force in our society. Party political approaches must prevail. In places it is still necessary to rid them of recurrent inappropriate ostentatiousness. A common denominator of all questions raised at the annual members' meetings and party conferences should be the evaluation of how restructuring all aspects of the life of society is proceeding. It is necessary to place man, his interests, vital needs, worries, and endeavors at the center of attention of party political work.

The level of submitted materials will significantly influence the entire outcome and atmosphere of the annual meetings and conferences. The basis should be the concrete account of the fulfillment of resolutions from the last annual meeting or conference, an evaluation of how far the collectives have gone in the practical implementation of the resolutions from the 17th CPCZ Congress and the subsequent CPCZ Central Committee sessions.

It is important that the annual members' meetings and party conferences adopt resolutions which promote political action and which will lay emphasis on the central tasks of today and tomorrow. At the same time, we should proceed creatively from the CPCZ Central Committee resolutions in which the policy of comprehensive universal restructuring is worked out and from the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of February.

Leninist understanding of the leading role of the party in society rests in the fact that the party does not stand above society but is an inseparable component of it. In this spirit, it is necessary to endeavor to overcome the tendencies of some party organizations to shut themselves off. The vital thing is to create such an atmosphere that each Communist at the annual members' meeting and each delegate at the conference feels the responsibility and need to express himself on the issues which are raised and to actively participate in the fulfillment of the tasks of party policy.

The attitude of citizens to the party and trust in its policy will only be strengthened when in their own experience they become daily convinced of the party's tenacious struggle to bring to life the adopted resolutions and line of restructuring. And the most effective arguments are concrete results.

I think that, owing to an open policy and the broad flow of information both at a nationwide and a regional level, the general public is already practically involved in the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, the CPSL congress, and the annual party meetings. It is necessary to further improve and develop this.

As far as the important documents under preparation are concerned, which the 18th CPCZ Congress is to debate—the draft principles for the party program, the draft of the new CPCZ Statutes, and the draft principles for the new CSSR Constitution—I can only repeat what was said at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session that they will be the subject not only of internal party consideration, but also of broad public discussion. We welcome each proposal, incentive, and suggestion.

Central Committee Standpoint on Technical Progress

AU2006131189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 89 p 2

["Standpoint of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on Checking the Fulfillment of the Resolution on Scientific-Technical Development, Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrical Engineering"]

[Text] On the basis of speeches, submitted reports, and the discussion, the Central Committee notes that in some spheres and in a number of production and scientific sectors the implementation of the resolutions adopted earlier has contributed to raising the technical-economic standard of the national economy. The considerable scientific-technical and production potential enables many demanding and complex national-economic tasks to be resolved. The set tasks entrusted to Communists in the party, state, and economic bodies and organizations in the sphere of scientific-technical development, metallurgy, engineering, and electrical engineering are still valid.

The fulfillment of the most important intention—that scientific-technical development and engineering become the factors that make intensive economic and social development more dynamic, and fundamental factors for the national economy's high performance—is making slow progress. This can be seen, in particular, in metallurgy, engineering, and electrical engineering. Even though these branches played a decisive role in the development of the Czechoslovak economy, they have not reacted flexibly enough to the upsurge of scientific-technical development in the world from the viewpoint of the needs of the national economy.

Until now, central bodies, especially the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development and the State Planning Commission, have not been fully ensuring the long-term and conceptual orientation of scientific-technical development and creating an efficient mechanism for its broad assertion, for strengthening the interlinkage between science and production, the economy, and the social and ecological objectives of society. One of the fundamental causes of this state of affairs is the outdated structure of the economy, its great energy and material consumption. The fact that we have not achieved more marked changes regarding the involvement in the international division of labor; the fact that capital construction has not become a sufficiently expedient instrument for the realization of effective results of scientific-technical development and the necessary structural changes, is reflected in the antiquated state of the production-technical base of industry, especially engineering. The existing management system and the assessment of results and remuneration in enterprises, which did not motivate people to make use of scientific-technical development and which did not create conditions for their entrepreneurship, are some of the things that are to blame for this state of affairs. In addition, there is a lack of sufficient courage to take entrepreneurial risks.

The greatest untapped potential for accelerating economic development lies in making use of leading workers, technicians, and scientists, and in the standard of management and organizational work throughout the management sphere.

On the basis of an assessment made of the needs of the current development of society and the preparations for the 18th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], the Central Committee considers it necessary to orient the activity of the party bodies and organizations, and of Communists in state, economic, and self-management bodies and social organizations, toward the following tasks:

We must fine-tune and implement the rational organization and activity of a united executive national-economic center, and fine tune relations between the center and the state enterprises.

In connection with the orientation toward ensuring an intensive type of development, we must continue to regard the acceleration of scientific-technical development as being of decisive importance. We must strive to implement its results in all aspects of expanded socialist reproduction, in the standard and structure of technological processes and the quality and utility value of manufactured products. We must consistently combine it with social, economic, and ecological objectives which society sets itself. Our strategy of economic, social, and scientific-technical development must unequivocally lead to a radical restructuring of the entire national economy, to the strengthening of progressive changes while, at the same time, phasing out socially ineffective productions. We must make considerably greater use of the external resources of scientific-technical development, especially scientific-technical cooperation connected with production cooperation, licenses, scientific-technical information, and imports of advanced technology.

It is necessary, within the framework of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, to create a climate that is favorable to efficiency and innovation, so that technically advanced enterprises make better than average profits directly dependent on the rate and quality of innovation. To this end it is necessary to apply economic instruments, especially fiscal, credit, and price policy. It is necessary to apply clear wage differentiation to creative scientific and technical cadres, managers and supervising personnel, as well as entire preproduction stages—design, planning, research and development—depending on results actually achieved. It is necessary to treat the results of technical creative activity as material values and make efficient use of them. It is necessary to apply the package of economic instruments in such a way as to make it more advantageous and more profitable for each enterprise and each organization to improve the environment than destroy it. It is necessary to deal with these issues when making preparations for the CPCZ Central Committee session on the environment.

It is necessary to concentrate investments on the rapid modernization and renewal of technological processes in accordance with structural changes, and simplify the entire package of the existing regulations in the sphere of the management of capital investment, including the amount of documentation of projects.

It is necessary to fundamentally change the conditions for the work of research and development and specialized institutes in such a way as to make their overall motivation depend directly on the quality and results of work. Here, too, it is necessary to apply the rules of the restructuring of the economic mechanism while, at the same time, respecting the particular nature of their activity. In order to strengthen the role of the central agencies, it is necessary to set up a central fund for technical development, which would make it possible to be flexible in promoting important new technical and technological solutions. Work must be developed to the full extent and the initiative of the creative scientific-technical intelligentsia in the progressive search for development trends must be supported and socially appreciated according to results. The creation of conditions for the development of the abilities and the assertion of the young intelligentsia is a particularly urgent matter.

In accordance with the objectives of restructuring it is necessary to determine and constantly redefine the strategy of the state research and development policy; systematically formulate and implement it; and constantly propose and analyze measures aimed at enhancing the technical-economic standard of the key spheres of the national economy in international comparison. To do this, in accordance with the progress of restructuring, it is necessary to rapidly realize new methods and forms of work and make the central management and planning of the process of scientific-technical development much simpler and more flexible.

Basic and applied research must be made more efficient and the needs in respect of the social and economic development of society must be effectively ensured in scientific-technical terms. Scientific research in the field of ecology, data processing, information technology, biotechnologies, new materials and their technological processing, and in the development of zero-waste technologies and the utilization of secondary raw materials must be accelerated and made more effective. It is necessary to develop contractual forms of cooperation with the production sphere, particularly in the key sectors, introduce a purpose-bound financing of scientific tasks, and strengthen operations based on the principles of economic accountability.

In the social sciences it is necessary to regard the working out of vital questions connected with the further development of manpower and production relations in the socialist society as being the most important task. It is necessary to concentrate, in particular, on topical tasks of economic development in the process of restructuring, and on their social contexts. It is necessary to submit proposals, including options, for decisions to be made by party and state bodies and economic organizations.

The central bodies, in close cooperation with the enterprise sphere, must complete the concept for the development of the metallurgy, engineering, and electrical engineering complex, based on the realization of structural changes, accelerated reconstruction and modernization of the antiquated technical base, while substantially intensifying the international division of labor, especially with the USSR. In this regard one must respect the changed marketing conditions on foreign markets and the reduced demand for special products. It is necessary to project the conclusions of the concept for the development of the metallurgy-engineering and electrical engineering complex into the directive for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the draft of the CSSR's long-term outlook through the year 2005.

It is necessary to ensure the efficient and long-term utilization of vacated production and research and development capacities. It is necessary to decide on the manufacture—promoted by the central agencies—of advanced products that have prospects of selling quickly and profitably both on world markets and at home. Very close attention must be paid to the development of selected fields of electronics, including the component base, as the prerequisite for accelerating scientific-technical development and, together with this, to determining phase-out programs and dealing with their work and social consequences.

Technical, production, and trade policy programs must be drawn up in all state enterprises to ensure their self-financing, the growth of quality production, and a significant increase of products that are competitive on world markets. It is necessary to base these programs on the comprehensive utilization of scientific-technical information and creative potential of the working people. It is necessary to clearly improve the standard of intraenterprise management, the application of full economic accountability, and the degree to which collectives and individuals have an interest in the final results of their work and in improving their qualifications. It is necessary to work purposefully and systematically with the bodies of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, socialist self-management, and the Scientific-Technical Society so they can help to ensure effective development, while harmonizing the needs of the enterprises and society.

One must require of economic organizations that, as early as in the first years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, they consistently meet the needs of the domestic market in respect of quality and technically advanced engineering and electronic products in order to make household work easier and provide people with more free time. Together with this it is necessary to expand and improve maintenance and repair services. Man, as creator and user of values, plays the key role in the implementation of the party's economic and social policy. The purpose of restructuring is to constantly keep all the creative forces of society in motion. This requires an improvement in the political-organizational and ideological work of the party bodies and organizations at all work sites. It is necessary to give support to personnel who display socialist entrepreneurship, initiative, and a creative approach, as well as the ability to cement collectives together.

The CPCZ Central Committee appreciates the selfless work to date of metallurgy workers, machine builders, employees in the electrotechnical industry, scientists, researchers, and innovators who have been taking an active part in the implementation of our development plans.

The CPCZ Central Committee expects that all Communists will fully endorse the conclusions of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session, that they will ensure—especially in state enterprises and cooperatives—the drafting of future-oriented development programs, and that they will be in the forefront in the effort to implement them.

It expresses the conviction that the 45th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army will become a new impetus for the development of work initiative and socialist competition to fulfill the tasks that have been determined.

Daily Cited on Central Committee Session

LD1706100189 Prague CTK in English
0638 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 17 (CTK)—The 14th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee this week criticized in particular attempts to pursue groups interests, to "touch up" economic results by various manipulations with prices, to curb the production assortment and supplies of cheaper goods to the market, RUDE PRAVO said today.

In its editorial reviewing the two-day party Central Committee session, the Czechoslovak Communist Party daily said the session stressed that "this was not socialist enterprise but a misuse of the monopoly position to secure a comfortable life at the cost of society and consumers, which is at variance with the targets of restructuring."

The daily further said the session was part of preparations for the 18th congress of the Communist Party, due to take place next May, adding that the period preceding the congress should help step up the party's action ability, strengthen its unity in the spirit of the policy of restructuring and democratization.

The party and society achieved considerable results in the past though it is being rightly pointed out that they could have been greater. There is no doubt about the resolve of the party and society to maintain and develop all the values of socialism, RUDE PRAVO said.

Completion of Nagymaros in Interest of Ecology

AU1906151689

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 June on page 6 carries a 1,900-word article by Academician Ludovit Weismann and Academician Vlastimil Barus entitled "We Can Even Do Nature a Service." The article deals with the ecological and biological aspects of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project on the Danube. The authors discuss the biological and ecological studies that were carried out prior to the construction start, many of them in cooperation with Hungarian scientists, and argue that the solutions that have been proposed make it possible to "preserve the original ecosystems," protect the valuable fauna and flora of the Danube area, and minimize the disruptive influence of the project on the environment. The authors stress that all problems arising in connection with the construction of the project can be solved only in close cooperation between experts from various, often very different branches, and on the basis of their "constructive dialogue." In this context Weismann and Barus discuss the work of the "coordinating commission" for the project, which operates under the Slovak Ministry of Forestry, Water Management, and Wood-Processing Industry, and which has made it possible to "achieve harmony between the interests of technicians and ecologists in many respects." At the same time the academicians criticize some measures that had been taken before the commission was set up and which were not discussed with environmentalists (such as, for example, the lining of the banks of the Hrusov reservoir and of the supply channel with asphalt).

In the concluding passage, the authors discuss the beneficial results of cooperation between experts of the Slovak and Hungarian Academies of Sciences. They say: "It follows from the achieved results of this cooperation that both the Czechoslovak and the Hungarian sides are aware of the ecological problems that have arisen and that they also know how to approach their solution. In this connection we were surprised by the report about the Hungarian Government's decision to suspend work on the construction of the Nagymaros dam. The construction of the project has reached such a stage that it is necessary, also from the point of view of the ecological impact, to do everything for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system to be completed in its originally planned conception. Needless to say, this must be done with the least possible negative influence on the natural and living environment, in harmony with demands on the economic and cultural development of the Danube area."

The article by the two academicians is published in identical form by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 June on page 6.

Religious Instruction No Cause for Discrimination

AU1506134789 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 13 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with F. Jelinek, deputy minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, by LIDOVE NOVINY staff journalist H. Blahova: "About Religious Instruction"—place, date not given]

[Excerpts] Of late, our editorial office has been receiving a number of letters in which readers ask about the current provision for religious instruction, what conditions have to be complied with to enroll children, and such things. Therefore, we asked Frantisek Jelinek, deputy minister of culture of the CSR [Czech Socialist Republic] and director general of the CSR Government's Church Affairs Secretariat, to answer questions pertaining to religious instruction. [passage omitted]

[Blahova] Is there a certain age limit for a child to receive religious instruction?

[Jelinek] Pupils attending the 2d through 7th classes of primary schools can be enrolled for religious instruction.

[Blahova] Is the number of pupils to receive religious instruction limited in some way?

[Jelinek] The number of pupils to receive religious instruction is not limited. Sections [oddeleni] for religious instruction are being arranged according to the number of enrolled pupils in such a way that if the number of enrolled pupils is less than 40, one section is established; when there is a larger number, additional sections are created.

[Blahova] Cannot the enrollment of a child for this kind of instruction constitute a certain discrimination against the pupil or his parents?

[Jelinek] The education of children is being taken care of, above all, by parents and the state; the decisive role is played by parents who decide family affairs together. Therefore, the assent of both parents is necessary for their child's religious instruction. Neither the form of written application nor the way it is to be delivered to the parish office or the religious community office is prescribed, and there also are no special applications or forms. At the same time it is necessary to stress that written applications stay with the parish office or the religious community office. This manner of enrollment cannot be regarded as discrimination against the pupil or his parents.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-14 Jun

AU1706151989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 9 to 15 June report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Upon his return from Havana on 11 June, Karel Urbanek was welcomed at Prague Airport by Karel Hoffmann. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jun 89 p 2)

The first day of the 14th CPCZ (Czechoslovak Communist Party) Central Committee session in Prague on 14 June was presided over by Karel Hoffmann in the morning, and by Ivan Knotek in the afternoon, with Miroslav Stepan addressing the session. (PRAVDA 15 Jun 89 p 1)

Miroslav Bochenek, central secretary of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, was received on the occasion of his 60th birthday by Karel Hoffman and Alois Indra, in Prague on 14 June. (PRAVDA 15 Jun 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, received Jindrich Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, in Prague on 12 June. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jun 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, attended and addressed an aktiv of the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society in Prague on 8 June. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Jun 89 pp 1,2)

Vladimir Herman, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, attended the opening of a plastic surgery clinic in Brno on 12 June. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jun 89 p 1)

Miloslav Hruskovic, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee, attended and addressed the Festival of Peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Zilina on 10 June. (PRAVDA 12 Jun 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, presided over a session of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Work With the Youth, in Prague on 8 June. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Jun 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, received participants and organizers of a track-and-field event, in Bratislava on 12 June. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jun 89 p 8)

Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received a CPSU Central Committee delegation headed by Georgiy Sarkisyan, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, in Prague on 8 June. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Jun 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received two Bulgarian delegations in Prague on 12 June. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jun 89 p 2) He presented to Miloslav Nahlik, head of a construction collective, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 65th birthday, in Prague, date not given. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jun 89 p 2) Stepan presented to veteran party member Anna Papirnikova the Order of Labor on the occasion of her 75th birthday, in Prague on 14 June. (PRAVDA 15 Jun 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council (URO), attended and addressed the eighth URO plenary session in Prague on 8 June. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Jun 89 pp 1, 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Kuwaiti ambassador Musa Sulayman al-Musa al-Saif in Prague on 23 June. (PRAVDA 12 Jun 89 p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, received Lieutenant Colonel Husayn 'Ali Hasan, member of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and chief of the Political Administration of Armed Forces of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in Prague on 8 June. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Jun 89 p 2) He received Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Bulgarian Army's Main Political Administration, in Prague on 12 June. (PRAVDA 13 Jun 89 p 1)

Honecker, West Berlin Mayor Exchange Views

Honecker, Momper Meet

LD1906171689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 19 jUN 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Mayor Walter Momper, member of the party executive of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and chairman of the SPD in Berlin (West), met for an exchange of views on 19 June in Niederschoenhausen Castle.

During the detailed talks between the two politicians, Erich Honecker and Walter Momper dealt with current international problems, relations between the two German states, and further cooperation between the GDR Government and the Senate [of West Berlin]. The two interlocutors agreed that a policy based on peace and detente is the preprequisite for developing good-neighborly relations in Europe. They reaffirmed their belief in the necessity of continuing disarmament efforts on all levels. They acknowledged the progress made in nuclear disarmament with the destruction of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles, as well as the start of negotiations on conventional disarmament in Vienna, and on further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. They agreed that everything must be done so only peace—and never again war—emanates from German soil.

Erich Honecker and Walter Momper expressed confidence that with the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, conditions will be created to promote further improvement in the situation in Europe.

Erich Honecker stated that the GDR will continue to view the improvement in the situation with reference to Berlin (West) and the development of good-neighborly relations, as an indivisible element of safeguarding peace in the center of Europe. Walter Momper emphasized the significance of Berlin (West) for the process of detente and cooperation.

Erich Honecker spoke in favor of including Berlin (West) in the total European cooperation. The GDR will participate, in accordance with the Four-Power Agreement, in international events in Berlin (West) in accordance with its interests. Walter Momper stated that the Senate would try to have CSCE functions held in Berlin (West).

Erich Honecker and Walter Momper acknowledged the progress achieved between the two German states, including Berlin (West), since the meeting between the general secretary and the federal chancellor in September 1987 in Bonn. The agreements and contracts reached had been filled with meaning. It is necessary to make progress along this path. The interlocutors acknowledged the high level of travelling, and stated unambiguously that great significance is attached to this.

The two interlocutors expressed the hope that the rail traffic improvements under consideration between Hanover and Berlin can be implemented. Walter Momper described the state of the discussion, in respect to implementation of the agreements and contracts for setting up establishments to carry electrical energy.

Erich Honecker and Walter Momper stated that in order to have successful policies, there must be respect for the realities which exist on German soil, as well as for the rights and interests of all those involved, especially the strict adherence to and full application of the Four-Power Agreement, as well as the willingness to understand, while taking into consideration the well-known different viewpoints. Predictability, mutual trust, and reliability are yardsticks for a new quality in mutual dealings.

Walter Momper outlined the Senate's ideas on the role of Berlin (West) in East-West relations. He said that the city would find its future within the framework of a European peace order, one that overcomes the division of Europe in two military blocs which stand opposed to each other. In the continuing existence of two states, it is a question of creating as much cooperation as possible on German soil. In this sense, it is not a question of changing borders in Europe, but of taking the dividing character from the existing borders. Humanitarian principles must apply to all borders. In addition to this, Erich Honecker noted that the involability of the borders, and the respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe in their present borders, are the fundamental conditions for peace.

Erich Honecker and Walter Momper acknowledged the progress achieved, in particular in the spheres of the economy, transport, environmental protection, as well as in cultural and communal exchange. Within the framework of existing regulations, they arranged for talks to continue, or start, on developing cooperation in the respective spheres between the GDR culture minister and the senator for cultural affairs, between the GDR university and technical school affairs minister and the senator for science and research, between the GDR foreign trade minister and the senator for the economy, and between the GDR environmental protection and water management minister and the senator for city development and environmental protection. They took into consideration the promotion of local political exchanges of experience between the Wedding and Mitte areas, between Kreuzberg and Prenzlauer Berg, as well as, between Reinickendorf and Pankow. The institutions and establishments in question will be given the task of reaching the contracts and agreements necessary for implementing the cooperation.

Erich Honecker stated that the issuing of authorization documents to receive visas is planned, as up to now, in the offices for visiting and travelling affairs. In addition, he said that to relieve the traffic of travellers and visitors, as of 1 August 1989, those people who possess repeat authorizations will immediately receive entry permits at the approved border crossing points. The validity of these repeat authorizations will be extended to 1 year. Regarding day visits, the possibility of staying until 2400 on the day following the entry day, is being extended to the Potsdam and Frankfurt/Oder Bezirke. Applications for the weekend can be made on the Thursday before. Taking along dogs and other small animals will be permitted via the Drewitz and Stolpe border crossing points, which are equipped with veterinary services. A further border crossing point is being considered.

Walter Momper said that the two sides would agree to establish possibilities for communication between the offices for visitor and tourist affairs.

Possibilities for promoting organized tourism were discussed.

The two sides will coordinate questions of local traffic that affect them jointly, especially in the S-Bahn and U-Bahn [urban railway and metro] sector, in order to arrive at mutually advantageous solutions.

Cooperation in the environmental protection sphere is to be expanded and promoted on the basis of the existing agreements. This includes, in particular, the preservation of clean water and sewage disposal.

The return of further cultural objects and the expansion of sports contacts are to be carried out within the framework of existing agreements.

Cooperation between the Humboldt University and the universities in West Berlin is to be further developed in selected spheres. Berlin's Deutsche Oper will give a guest performance in Dresden at a date to be arranged. A GDR week of culture in West Berlin is envisioned.

Erich Honecker and Walter Momper discussed humanitarian issues. The talks were marked by reciprocal understanding and interest. Erich Honecker and Walter Momper noted, in conclusion, that an open exchange of views between politicians on German soil make a considerable contribution to improving the situation.

The following took part in the talks: State Secretary Frank- Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancery of the chairman of the GDR State Council; Gunter Rettner, department director of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee; Dr Walter Mueller, department director of the Foreign Ministry; State Secretary Prof Dr Dieter Schroeder, head of the Senate Chancery; Senate Spokesman Werner Kolhoff; Senatsrat Dietrich Hinkefuss, the Senate's deputy for tourist and visitor traffic.

Further on Talks

LD1906183189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Walter Momper, governing mayor of Berlin (West), believes that his meeting with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, testifies to the further stable development of German-German relations, including Berlin (West).

At a press conference in Schoeneberg Town Hall today, Momper said that the talk, which lasted twice as long as originally planned, had taken place in an open and friendly atmosphere. At the start, he expressed to Erich Honecker, on behalf of the people of Berlin (West), his deep sympathy with the victims of air crash at Berlin-Schoenefeld and their relatives.

Momper said that the meeting with the SED general secretary took place against the background of far-reaching positive changes in East-West relations. He made it clear that this development is the hope of all people in central Europe and their longing for a life in peace and goodneighborliness.

The GDR, Momper said, had a clear interest in the futher improvement of German-German relations, to which improvements in and around Berlin also belonged. Such improvements were possible if, in accordance with the status of the city and with strict observance and full application of the Four-Power Agreement, both sides established a practice regarding the GDR's participation in events in Berlin (West), and also on some matters of cooperation in environmental protection.

In his talk with Erich Honecker, they also discussed the whole complex of economic cooperation, which had developed very well. Here, not only was direct cooperation between firms envisaged, but also cooperation in third markets. Questions of waste disposal, district heating supplies, and inner city traffic, including coordination of local traffic concepts, was also discussed.

Momper assessed the development of relations in the areas of culture and science positively. There had been great openness on the part of the GDR regarding cooperation between Humboldt University and the universities of Berlin (West).

Walter Momper said that the most important results of his talks with Erich Honecker were the accords in the area of visitor and tourist traffic, including tourism within the GDR. He explained the details of the accords and said that they were a great step toward normalization of life for the inhabitants of Berlin (West).

Cooperation with the GDR in decorating the villa in which Lion Feuchtwanger lived during his exile in Los Angeles also was suggested.

In conclusion, Walter Momper pointed to the positive effects of such meetings between politicians for the further improvement of German-German relations, and said that he hoped to be able to continue these talks with the SED general secretary.

The governing mayor then answered questions from domestic and foreign journalists.

Agree on Travel Permits

LD1906135689 Hamburg DPA in German 1313 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—During his first official meeting with GDR head of state and party leader Erich Honecker, Berlin's governing mayor, Walter Momper (SPD) achieved visiting and traveling improvements for West Berliners. Momper and Honecker met at Niederschoenhausen Castle in East Berlin on Monday.

Honecker promised that, as of 1 August, West Berliners with so-called repeat authorizations will be given entry permits immediately at the approved border crossing points to East Berlin and the GDR. The validity of these authorizations will be extended to 1 year. As regards day visits, the possibility of staying until 2400 on the day following the entry day is being extended to the GDR Potsdam and Frankfurt/Oder areas [Bezirke].

In the future, dogs and other small animals can be taken along on visits, that is, via the Drewitz and Stolpe border crossing points which are equipped with veterinary services. One further crossing point is under consideration.

The statement issued by the Senate press office says that Momper consented to "the setting up of communication facilities between the two sides for offices dealing with visiting and travel affairs."

During the talk, which lasted about 2 and ½ hours, Momper and Honecker dealt with current international problems, relations between the two German states, and future cooperation between the government of the GDR and the Senate, the press statement, which was largely coordinated with the GDR, said. Both sides expressed their confidence that, with the meeting between Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl last week in Bonn, "conditions have been created which promote the further improvement of the situation in Europe."

Momper continued, with his visit, the practice of his predecessors of maintaining direct verbal contact with the GDR leadership. The governing mayors, Eberhard Diepgen (CDU) and Richard von Weizsaecker (CDU), also had meetings with Honecker.

After the conversation in Niederschoenhausen Castle and a subsequent luncheon, Momper briefed Franze Bertele, head of the FRG permanent mission in East Berlin, about the meeting. Afterward, he briefed the parliamentary leaders and the press in West Berlin.

According to the statement, the scope for promoting organized tourism was also discussed. "The two sides are to coordinate jointly on local traffic issues, especially in the area of city railway and underground, in order to find mutually beneficial solutions." The promotion of local political contacts between the Wedding and Mitte/Center areas, Kreuzberg and Prenzlauer Berg, as well as Reinickendorf and Pankow, was taken into consideration.

Momper and Honecker agreed that the competent GDR ministers and Berlin senators will conduct talks on the development of cooperation in the cultural, scientific, economic, and environmental protection areas.

Cooperation in the area of environmental protection—above all in keeping water clean and the elimination of effluents—is to be expanded. Also planned is the return of more cultural goods, and the further development of cooperation between the East Berlin Humboldt University and West Berlin higher education establishments in selected areas. Deutsche Oper Berlin is to give a guest performance in Dresden at a date still to be fixed. Also planned is a GDR Cultural Week in West Berlin. As part of the existing agreements, sports contacts are to be expanded.

The two officials said that "the willingness to negotiate by taking into account the known different standpoints is essential." Honecker, according to the statement, spoke in favor of the inclusion of West Berlin in all-European cooperation. The GDR, in accordance with the Four Power Agreement, will attend international events in West Berlin "according to its state of interests." Momper, for his part, pointed out that the Senate is requesting that CSCE functions be held in West Berlin.

Concerning humanitarian issues, it was merely stated that they were discussed. The two interlocutors expressed the hope that the rail traffic improvements planned between Hanover and Berlin can be achieved. Momper explained "the state of the discussion" concerning the power link agreed last year between Preussen-Electra, Berlin and the GDR foreign trade enterprise Intrac. The power supply treaty, examined at present by the Senate, is being rejected by the SPD and AL [Alternative List].

In his own words, Momper also made it clear in his talk with Honecker, that "shots at people at the wall" mean set-backs for the development of relations and the path to detente. The general secretary "noted" this, Momper told a news conference in the Schoeneberg Town Hall.

With reference to the minimum obligatory exchange for West Berliners demanded by the GDR, Momper "recommended the examination of a general reduction" during the talk. The GDR should consider, in particular, lowering the minimum obligatory exchange for those unable work to the level of those with disbility pensions, and to reduce it also for drivers of dial-a-bus.

Momper also asked the general secretary to change the practice relating to entry denials. He was told in the talk that AL members, too, can travel to East Berlin and to the GDR. At the same time, here, the expectation is voiced "that they should comply with the laws in force in the GDR."

The expected relaxations in tourism and visitor traffic were described by Momper as a great step toward normality for West Berliners. As a result of this, it will, in future, be possible to make quick and spontaneous trips to the GDR for local relaxation.

The Senate's desire for bicycle entry to East Berlin and to the GDR continues to meet resistance from the East Berlin side. The refusal is justified on the grounds that the streets are not converted for it.

With reference to inner city traffic, according to Momper, there is expected to be an investigation into the technical and financial considerations of opening up additional checkpoints, for example at the Potsdamer Platz and the Bornholmer strasse. Momper also spoke to Honecker about allowing passenger ships to cross the borders for excursions to local relaxation areas.

There should also be an examination of whether, in future, second-hand cars from the West can be given to GDR citizens, or can be acquired by them. A directive from the 1960s allows the delivery of second-hand cars only through inheritance.

Momper told journalists that this sixth meeting between a governing mayor and the GDR state and party leader bears witness to a stable further development in intra-German relations, which includes Berlin also. He hopes that these talks can be constantly continued. Honecker, too, has taken this into consideration.

Krenz Briefs Swedes on Disarmament Policy

LD1906122589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1023 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR is in favor of eliminating all nuclear weapons from the European Continent. In this spirit, it considers it necessary for negotiations on all tactical nuclear weapons in Europe to be conducted parallel to the Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament, Egon Krenz, Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, emphasized this in Berlin today during talks with a delegation of the defense committee of the Swedish Riksdag. The delegation is headed by the committee's chairman, Arne Andersson. The host emphasized the current significance of the proposal for a corridor in central Europe free of nuclear combat weapons, initiated by the Olof Palme, the former Swedish premier.

Egom Krenz focused on matters of European security, above all, the initiatives made by the Warsaw Pact states, which are directed at not permitting any break in the process of disarmament which has begun. He briefed the Swedish guests about the unilateral disarmament measures introduced by the GDR.

Egon Krenz and Arne Andersson reviewed the relations between the defense committees of the Swedish Riksdag and the GDR People's Chamber, which have existed for several years. They noted that mutual information and objective dialogue promote the building of trust.

Fischer Toasts Tunisian Counterpart at Dinner

AU1906172589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 89 p 6

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at a dinner given in honor of Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdelhamid Esheikh in Berlin on 15 June: "Fruitful Cooperation in the Interest of Peace and Security"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Minister, distinguished guests, dear comrades and friends:

It is a great pleasure for me to cordially welcome you, esteemed colleague, and your distinguished entourage once more.

I welcome you as the representative of a country whose advocacy of a fruitful international dialogue, of enforcing the principles of peaceful coexistence, and of a political solution to regional conflicts is recognized and appreciated in the world.

It fills me with satisfaction that the foreign ministers of the GDR and the Tunisian Republic meet regularly. Our time, the end of the 20th century, in which international developments occur at breathtaking speed, makes this quick and frequent exchange of views necessary.

While, at the beginning of this decade, we had to focus our talks on the seriousness of the international situation caused by confrontation and the arms buildup, and on the danger of a nuclear war that threatened mankind, today we note the signs of a change toward detente, understanding, and disarmament.

Disarmament Remains the Central Task of Mankind

This is shown by the promising start to nuclear disarmament made by the INF Treaty and the businesslike Vienna negotiations on disarmament of conventional troops and weapons, and on more far-reaching confidence- and security-building measures.

This is also shown by the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the FRG, which has just been concluded with important results that strengthen peace and stability in the center of Europe.

The initiated process of settling regional conflicts through political means, is contributing to a better international climate, even though it is burdened with disturbances.

Safeguarding peace through disarmament remains the central task of mankind.

For this purpose, the GDR and its allies have presented a wide range of disarmament proposals. Let me recall, in particular, the latest offers concerning the reduction of short-range nuclear systems, the elimination of the asymmetries of troops and their armament, and the radical reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. All these proposals aim at maintaining both sides' defense capability, but drastically reducing their ability to attack. Above all, they are to defuse the "European powder-keg." The priority task remains the fastest possible conclusion of treaties on the halving of strategic offensive weapons, and the halting of nuclear tests, as well as of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons.

Unilateral disarmament steps, the implementation of which has already been started, demonstrate the firm determination of the Warsaw Pact states, including the GDR, to disarm.

These advance moves, which are also militarily important, once more prove that word and deed concur in their foreign policy.

In the meantime, the United States, through its President, broke the long silence concerning the numerous peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact, and presented negotiable proposals on a reduction of conventional weapons. If these proposals are negotiated in the spirit of equal and undiminished security for all, satisfactory results will probably not be far away. Such an active development pursued by the GDR and its allies, makes a speedy start to negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons all the more necessary.

We know that we are at one with your country, esteemed colleague, in the striving for peace and international security because, from the time of Carthage to World War II, military threat and destruction was carried from Europe to northern Africa and also to the territory of today's Tunisia.

An important precondition for the peaceful coexistence of peoples is the solving of regional conflicts. The efforts undertaken by Tunisia in this spirit are appreciated in the GDR.

In Favor of Conference for Speedy Settlement to Middle East Problem

The efforts of your country, and those of its Arab neighbors, were impressively demonstrated at the latest Arab League summit. The GDR welcomes the fact that, in Casablanca, the Arab heads of state again affirmed their constructive advocacy of a speedy beginning to a process of political settlement in the Middle East, and stressed the necessity of convening an international peace conference, under the aegis of the United Nations, on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The policy of the PLO, which is aimed at realism and dialogue, and was particularly expressed by the proclamation of the State of Palestine, was unanimously supported at the meeting.

The GDR has repeatedly affirmed its standpoint that there is no alternative to a political settlement to the dangerous conflict in the Middle East. What is important is the determination to come to an understanding and a balance of interests between the parties involved. Israel is expected to give a constructive answer.

Mr Minister; during your stay you will be able to convince yourself that a commitment to peace, and strenuous work to further increase the people's prosperity, are inseparably linked in the GDR's policy. Continuity and renewal, the tested safeguarding of the unity of economic and social policy, and the broad democratic participation of the people, characterize the successful path of the GDR, which will celebrate the 40th anniversary of its founding this year.

Our Countries Are Traditionally Linked by Firm Friendship

The GDR and the Tunisian Republic are linked by traditionally friendly relations. With attention and sympathetic feelings, we have been observing how your country has initiated a new era of development since 7 November 1987.

Be assured of the GDR's interest in purposefully expanding and deepening the mutually beneficial cooperation with Tunisia. There are opportunities for this in the most varied areas, such as in the political and economic field, in culture, science, and in sports, in contact between social organizations and young people. The GDR side is always open to proposals by the Tunisian partners, and is willing to tap new areas in order to further expand and deepen the friendly relations between the two states and peoples.

I ask you to raise your glasses with me and drink

—to the further flourishing of the friendly relations between the GDR and Tunisia;
—to your health, Mr Minister, and to the health of all those present.

Honecker Meets Bishop Gienke in Greifswald

AU1806180889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jun 89 pp 3, 4

[ADN report: "Trusting Cooperation in the Basic Questions of Our Time"]

[Excerpts] Greifswald (ADN)—After the festive service in Greifswald's St Nikolai Cathedral, a friendly meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Horst Gienke, bishop of the Evangelical Regional Church, took place on Sunday [11 June]. Mayor Udo Wellner had invited the participants to meet in the town hall. During the meeting, Bishop Gienke was introduced to the GDR head of state Hans-Martin Harder, chairman of the consistory; Siegfried Plath, chairman of the synod; Dietrich Affeld; Father Joachim Puttkammer, chairman of the St Nikolai Parish Council; and other members of the regional church leadership and the parish council.

Participants in the meeting in the Council Hall were Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs; Ernst Timm, first secretary of the Rostock Bezirk SED leadership; Eberhard Kuehl, chairman of the Rostock Bezirk Council; and his deputy Juergen Hass. Also present were Martin Ziegler, head of the Secretariat of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR.

At the meeting Bishop Gienke said: [passage omitted] This is a welcome opportunity to thank you, Mr State Council Chairman, for everything that has developed over the past years in terms of readiness for cooperation between Marxists and Christians in the common responsibility for peace and humaneness. We never reach the final goal. Ever new expectations for further, good steps are indispensable. Why do we let ourselves be irritated by them? Let us understand them to be an expression of a learning process, which is never concluded and can never be concluded, on our common path. Today our cathedral is the witness to a new milestone of cooperation in our country. We are looking ahead with confidence. Great tasks are waiting for us. We thank you and our government for all of the clear words and concrete steps for disarmament. Oh, what political, economic, cultural, and social opportunities will be waiting for our peoples if all proposals that are on the negotiating table are implemented. Mr State Council Chairman, we are certain that you are working with all your strength in bringing together old and new things in a positive way. [passage omitted]

In his response, Erich Honecker again thanked Bishop Horst Gienke for the invitation to attend the inauguration of the cathedral, which he was pleased to accept. He agreed with him that joint action for peace, and thus for the welfare of the people, is urgently necessary.

On this day in Greifswald, joint work has been particularly evident. We want a common world of peace, a world in which everyone moves towards the others. Erich Honecker affirmed that it is the will of the state to have all citizens, regardless of their ideology and denomination, participate in solving the tasks that have to be tackled. In this connection, he referred to the development of Greifswald, which was spared destruction thanks to prudent action, where many new things were built, but where much still has to be done. Many things depend on what we achieved in the past. Over the past 44 years of peace, great achievements not only in material terms, but also in intellectual terms have been accomplished in the GDR. Erich Honecker referred to social security, to the comprehensive housing program, and to many other achievements for the benefit of all, which are the common achievements of the entire people.

How Common Construction Work Is Being Done in Our Country

When we make an overview today, we are justified in noting that we have made good progress on our common path. Erich Honecker described the trusting relationship between Christians and non-Christians, and stressed that no wall has been erected between the Christians in the GDR and citizens of other denominations. Common mutual respect has given rise to common construction work. In the course of the talk, Erich Honecker reported on steps and intentions of the GDR and the states allied with it, for further disarmament and for safeguarding peace. In international politics, a new way of thinking and acting has to gain ground in this respect. After the start of nuclear disarmament, comprehensive disarmament in the nuclear field is necessary. Much has been done to make progress in the field of conventional disarmament. The proposals of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist states have met with worldwide attention. The latest proposals by U.S. President Bush in this respect are gratifying, but NATO has not yet found a common language to respond to all proposals.

During his numerous visits to Western countries, he found support and readiness concerning the worldwide discussion about disarmament. Erich Honecker referred, among others, to his visit to the FRG, where politicians like Mr Dregger, late Bavarian Minister President Strauss, or Mr Waigl have expressed their support for disarmament. We are against any war, he stressed, both with conventional weapons and with nuclear weapons. Therefore, the proposal by the socialist countries for achieving the incapability to attack is of enormous importance. I say, very frankly, that speaking of the so-called modernization of nuclear missiles is equal to the resumption of the arms race, because if one modernizes, the other also wants to modernize in return.

Repeating the unconditional will for peace, Erich Honecker expressed his confidence that reason will prevail in the world. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker stressed the will of the GDR Government and of all those who bear responsibility in the state, to cooperate and coexist with everyone in peace and friendship. He affirmed that the Evangelical churches have their place in our country. It is, above all, our common task to preserve peace in the world and not to permit a new war. [passage omitted]

Accompanied by the applause of thousands of people, Erich Honecker paid farewell to the town's inhabitants in front of the town hall. Together with Bishop Horst Gienke and Mayor Udo Wellner, he wished all citizens much success and good work. Previously, he had signed the book of honor of the university town.

Stolpe Speaks on Domestic, Foreign Issues

AU1606201189 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 15 Jun 89 pp 14-15

["Slightly abridged" version of the speech given by Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, at the Evangelical Church Conference in West Berlin on 11 June: "It Is Not the Wall That Oppresses But the Fact That It Is Impassable"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Evangelical Church and the socialist society in the GDR are undergoing far-reaching changes.

Over the past decades the Evangelical Church has experienced great changes in its understanding of its tasks and in its form. Since the end of the state church, in which almost all citizens were protestants, its form is moving from a church comprising the entire population towards a church of voluntary membership. [passage omitted]

The economic challenges resulting from the indispensable development of high technology and further need for renewal are enormous. The new technology requires more participation by, and motivation of the people, who, at the same time, are placing higher demands on their society because of the new opening up and the new meetings. Since Gorbachev's assumption of office at the latest, some things in ideology have had to be reconsidered or seen in a different light.

All these are weighty matters, which make far-reaching changes unavoidable. How can they be carried out without turbulences? The great art will be to carry out innovations without the spontaneous explosion of the existing pressure of expectation, which is an effect that is almost regular in such a situation, according to all historical and current experiences. I am convinced that the GDR state leadership is willing to introduce renewal, but it fears precisely this effect. Because exactly 36 years ago a new course, a change of course by 180 degrees was announced. At that time, within 1 week, it was impossible to rule the state, and it could be preserved only with the use of tanks. The new course of greater openness concerning the problems of society, and more participation by the citizens was left behind in the process.

More participation by the citizens, more stability of the law and democratization, more openness concerning topical and general questions continue to be on the agenda of the GDR. This cannot be achieved without the citizens' participation in thinking and acting. They have to be informed about the goals, and dialogue has to be facilitated. This dialogue need not take place in front of television cameras, but it must be made possible for all dedicated and interested people. One should also explain to the citizens that renewal has to take place under stable conditions. Most of them will understand this, because neither Gorbachev's reform program nor the future of the German states or the European peace system are served by a GDR that is incapable of action. The people in the GDR are more open-minded towards a controlled renewal process in the economic, political, and ideological fields than some of those responsible think. So far, the majority of the GDR citizens do not want a fusion with the capitalist FRG, but a better socialism. They certainly also have many illusions about the raisins from all cakes. However, the impossible things also have to be discussed further. There are already vivid discussions at the base everywhere, and this is good.

Even though one ascribes readiness for renewal to the state leadership, there remains the tension between the state's possibilities to implement it and the citizens' expectations. This has repeatedly become clear when looking at the example of travel opportunities.

The tension will remain. It is a helpful motive force and a necessary regulating power, as long as it does not turn into excessive tension. This is a sociopsychological factor, which depends on the visible and credible will for changes of those who govern, and the patience of those who are governed.

It is also the task of the church on both sides of the Wall to create trust, patience, and hope for a more just and peaceful existence of people. The Evangelical Church in the GDR cannot escape this. However, it is pushed into a difficult substitute role in this respect. A particular challenge for our church results from the generally small differences in public opinion in GDR society. These special conditions particularly call for truths to be told, for the encouragement of those who have already resigned themselves, and for aid to those in need. This role as a substitute, because of the lack of other active social forces has objectively turned the GDR's Evangelical Church into a second voice of society. Undesired and unloved by those involved, a dualism of state and church has developed in questions which concern the people. In particular, since the Ecumenical meeting in Dresden in April, important problems of shaping social coexistence, of the legal system, social ethics, education and training, saving nature, and, not least, the preservation of life have been voiced.

The GDR recognizes the right of the churches and the Christians to tackle these questions and even admits that their belief calls for this. Yes, Marxists specifically express their expectation that Christian ethics can decisively help shape the future together.

The GDR's social forces do not deny the church's responsibility, but they are worried about its methods. They mainly fear that by loudly tackling taboo topics, and by their ready publication and multiplication by the Western media—following the motto that only bad news is good news—demoralizing distortions and disquiet would develop in the GDR.

Environmental activities of church groups without the participation of media, and Christian-Marxist disputes on future developments behind closed doors, are taking place frequently. The state's main concern is caused by spontaneity and its effectiveness in the media. Symbols, actions, and demonstrations of basic groups seem unpredictable and are undesired. Obviously, there is the motto that small beginnings have to be stopped in order to prevent situations that cannot be controlled. This old Prussian principle has been taken even more seriously since the turbulent and partly chaotic changes in other socialist countries.

The Evangelical Church is basically democratic, pluralistic, and open to all. Therefore, it is attractive to many and certainly also prone to being abused. However, because of this danger of being abused, it cannot change its nature if it does not want to become a sect or catholic. Since it must remain an Evangelical—protestant—church, it must not close its doors because of the danger of being abused, must not reject people, or ban topics from the outset. However, the Evangelical Church must confront all questions that are broached with the biblical message, with Jesus' order for nonviolent reconciliation. And this is precisely the difficulty.

For instance, if we are not able to prevent people from violating the police ban on demonstrations. Then the church is once again in a dubious situation. Those determined to act consider it too loyal to the state, and the state organs consider it the instigator of counterrevolutionary machinations.

As long as GDR society cannot or does not want to decide to discuss all important questions publicly and in varied ways, the church has to accept the burden of act as a substitute. It is the role of the court jester to be the messenger of unwanted news, who is not thanked and loved by anybody.

Some people think that too much truth is spoken, and others consider truth couched in friendliness as half a lie. Some feel strongly provoked and exposed, others only see pussyfooting. It is the place between the chairs.

The church does not want to assume power. It is not an opposition that continuously says how it would do everything better and then, in the end, is not able to do it. But our church wants the state GDR and its citizens to undergo a good and peaceful development. In this process, it will have to consciously play the role of an admonisher and helper in the interest of law and peace—less by pursuing crisis after crisis, case after case, but more by the conscious acceptance of this task, by understanding necessities, considering the individual steps and their consequences, and, again and again, by making sure of its authority derived from the biblical message.

All this also has much to do with Berlin, and is considerably intensified here because of the situation of a large city, the closer West-East contact, and the permanent presence of Western media. Berlin is the carrier of the burden and hope of German history. Nowhere is German history, German presence, and the question of German future as close by as here in this double city. Hitler's rise and triumph, the start of war and destruction, and then the full backlash onto the perpetrators and their followers. The war and destruction cought up with the city. Where once there was a center of European history, rabbits are playing in the border area between East and West Berlin. The Brandenburg Gate, witness to many proud marches and memorable parades, can be observed from both sides only at a distance. Potsdam Square, in the heart of the city, where the Kaiser's special trains from Sanssouci arrived, is a flea market today. In Berlin one can experience the personification of history, which shows the closeness of pride and fall, of sin and repentance without much explanation, and at the same time, makes us understand how we, witnesses and those born after the war, are still right in the middle of this history.

Perhaps in Baden or Bavaria it is possible to forget that recently a great war started from Germany, turned back on Germany, and destroyed the Reich—in Berlin you cannot forget this. Perhaps in Saxony or in the Rhineland it is possible to angrily argue about disproportionate subsidies of Berlin—at the Berlin Wall everybody understands that the subsidized facades in Berlin (East) and Berlin (West) only play the role of a proxy for the two German postwar paths.

The painting of the Wall is wrong. It should be agreed that the East paints the Western side of the Wall and the West paints the Eastern side so that the respective onlooker gets the correct impression from the outside. After all, a name plate is not fixed on the inside of a door, either.

Today the double city has become the double window of the systems. Western visitors are impressed by the capital city of Berlin (East) and Eastern visitors are impressed by the shopping Eldorado of Berlin (West).

For the GDR, Berlin (West) is a constant challenge and the main reason for the Wall. It was built to prevent the inflow of disturbances and the outflow of people. Soberly considered, it has not lost this function to date. In the European process of detente, it has become more permeable and it must become even more permeable in its course. Today the permeability from West to East mostly depends only on the interest of the traveler. The permeability from East to West, on the other hand, is considered too low by many GDR citizens. They question the need for special reasons to travel and for proof of the existence of relatives, since Western influence can be easily exerted in their own country. It is not the Wall that oppresses, but the fact that it is still completely impassable for many GDR citizens. The need for a border between states and systems is undisputed, but the fact that the second part of Berlin that is so near, is unreachable, even though it can be reached by thousands of non-Germans from all over the world—also from Eastern Europe—without any problems, bores like a thorn in their hearts.

It is too simple to see this problem as the main reason of applications to permanently leave the GDR, and of breaking through the border barriers. But it has much to do with this. It is not individual circumstances that make people leave, but a lack of internal links with the country in which they live. Obviously the feeling of being accepted and taken seriously in society is more important for many citizens than prosperity and ensured social protection. The passport and the permission for free travel are seen by the GDR citizen as proof of his independence, and are more important to him than the permanent calls for patience by the church, or official political prospects for the future.

It is not the Wall that has to be eliminated quickly, but the way of going through it from East to West has to be considered—and this is of particular priority in and around Berlin, because here it is a visible burden to the people and the clear Achilles heel of any good GDR policy. In my view, it would be a peace-promoting, humanitarian, and generally stabilizing task if the Berlin (West) Senat and the GDR Government were to consider single-day visas to be granted to GDR citizens to go to Berlin (West) without specific reasons. The economic side cannot be the ultimate obstacle, and it should be possible to find means even against temptation and luring people away.

However, the realization of such Berlin dreams continues to depend on the progress of the process of detente and, in this connection, of arms reduction. The efforts to achieve confidence-building measures in the military area arew of great importance. The system of land and air surveillance, including mutual maneuver observations, which was agreed upon in Stockholm in autumn 1986, has already reduced distrust and initiated security. Talks between military men are important, and I think it is a pity that last week the Bonn Defense Ministry refused to take up an opportunity for dialogue with GDR generals in Saarbruecken.

The concentration of the destructive potential all over Germany and in the CSSR, has to be questioned as to its military necessity, its political usefulness, and its moral justification. For years the Evangelical Churches in the GDR have emphatically supported all initiatives that work for more peace with fewer weapons.

Particular attention is now being paid to the short-range nuclear missiles; the call for their complete elimination and the early start of corresponding negotiations is convincing. Less convincing are, in my view, the counterarguments of the West. I cannot avoid the suspicion that there are political reasons apart from the military ones. Do these missiles have a disciplinary function that is to be exercised on the West Germans? Is it feared that one day a red-green or black-brown chancellor in Bonn might agree on a new Tauroggen with the Russians [Tauroggen Convention of 1812]? Or is it the concern about the chatter about reunification, which has been particularly rampant recently?

I must admit that I am worried about the predictions of reunification. In particular as regards truthfulness and the irritations.

I do not doubt the honesty of the statements that are made in the FRG from left and right on the open German question and the allegedly increasing topicality and increasingly urgent need for reunification. One would be a bad German if one's heart would not sing when imagining that a peaceful German state could be established proceeding from 1932 or at least 1952 and by avoiding past mistakes. Dreams are not forbidden. But the impression must not be raised that this is reality. Those who do not see a concrete possibility to realize an overall German state, must not talk in a way as if they knew one. Or do some people deliberately play with moods in order to arouse them among the emotionally sensitive Germans? But who is to pursue politics in Bonn, Berlin, Paris, London, Washington, or Moscow, if an anschluss psychosis were to be produced among the Germans over the next years? Today the smooth talk of reunification objectively is the peace-endangering attempt to bring into motion unpredictable irritations.

After all, the basic political data is different. The status of Germany cannot be changed in any way without France, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. I do not know what the Western powers would think about one German state. But I can imagine very well that no CPSU general secretary would survive politically if he gave up the GDR. In the alliance with the Soviet Union, the GDR is worth its weight in billions of deutsche marks, because, with all appropriate modesty, one has to proceed from the premise that the GDR is the indispensable military frontyard, the political clamp, and the most important economic partner of the Soviet Union as a main power.

By the way, my imagination is not sufficient, either, to imagine how the United States wants to remain a superpower without their German pillar.

The United States and the Soviet Union could tolerate an overall German state as a partner for only one of them. However, since both powers cannot be willing to do without their Germans, this case is impossible. Thus, those who speak of reunification also speak against the postwar order, which has preserved peace for 45 years.

Because of my Christian responsibility and for truth's sake, I also have to ask how reunification and the European market as of 1 January 1993 are compatible. The FRG will give up part of its sovereignty and will be integrated as the main power in the world's strongest economic bloc. Supranational links will be necessarily intensified. Production conditions and production structures will be inseparably interlaced at the multilateral level, and will thus give rise to high productivity. The binding membership of its partial states is imperative for the future Western Europe. I think that by 1993, the ultimate decision will be made against one single overall German state, and this should be honestly said.

By saying all this, I do not advocate a change of the preamble of the Bonn Basic Law, but instead its interpretation within the framework of the European order.

The FRG has entered the CSCE process and, with the Helsinki Final Act and the final documents of the follow-up conferences of Belgrade, Madrid, and Vienna, it has bindingly committed itself to security, cooperation, and shaping human rights within the framework of the existing European community of states, including the existence of the two German states. In 1992 this process is to be confirmed again in Helsinki. I am convinced that in the interest of truthfulness toward the German people and honesty toward the other European states, it would be necessary to reinterpret the preamble of the Basic Law by taking into account the all-European peace process, and the West European unification in the spirit of partnership relations between the two German states.

This cannot involve a renunciation of the right to self-determination. The right to self-determination, which naturally cannot be kept from the Germans forever, becomes acute as soon as a peace treaty is to be concluded, for which there are no prospects for the time being. Then the Germans will have to decide within the framework of the European peace system on how they want to shape their states and their partnership. Until then, the Germans will have to take care of the existing community in their two states.

This is a community as a result of the inseparably interlaced 1,000-year history with its ups and downs and millions of border-crossing human links.

This is a community of coming to terms with mistakes, with special links with the Jews and the peoples of the European East who were persecuted by the Germans. Signals like the ones that have been set as signs of repentance by the Christian campaigns for decades, still need broad support by the Germans in both states.

This is a community of the duty of reconciliation and building bridges. It is one of the most gratifying developments of the past 1 and ½ decades that both Germans states have become driving forces and stabilizers in the all-European peace process. Here they can rely on the full support of the churches!

Finally, this is a community of hope for a world, in which peace is secure, mankind can live in justice, and nature can be saved. These vital questions already bring the two German states together more closely than the serious differences in their systems can separate them!

In the common European home, the German states will come from the location at the fringe of the East in the European West and of the West in the European East, to a central location in all of Europe. In the double center, the progressing process of detente will turn the burden into the chance to shape this special community in a helpful way for the European peoples and the German people. I do not think it impossible that, in the further development of the European peace progress, the German states might join in a central European confederation.

And Berlin? The role of a Greater German capital city cannot be brought back. The motion of the Communist Party of Germany in the German Bundestag in 1949 to declare Berlin the capital city of the FRG, did not get a majority for understandable reasons. For Berlin, the future for which we hope and which has been advocated and prayed for at this Church congress, lies in a peaceful Europe. In the European home, Berlin can be staircase, hall, and bazaar in a positive sense; a turntable for ideas and means; but also a site of coordination of the European CSCE process and of the development of human rights.

Berlin can become the European base of peace, where the occupation forces turn into peace-keeping forces commissioned and complemented by the Europeans, and where the CSCE has its seat. More than any other European city, Berlin is suited as a control point of peace, because here the great wars started, because here their consequences are still worse, and because here the amount of national sovereignty restricted by international rights would be smallest.

Tomorrow Gorbachev, the great European poet of peace, will go to Bonn. He is accompanied by many good wishes, also from Christians in his country and in Germany. In our churches, prayers are being said for his visit to be successful for the sake of peace and of the people, for his revolution for a more efficient and more humane socialism to succeed, for him to get helpful answers—in Bonn, in NATO, and from all his allies.

If you have had enough patience to listen to me until now, you have the right to know the core of my concern:

I want to tell you about our Evangelical Church in and around Berlin, which is linked with this city and this country, its divisions and its belonging together. A church, which because of its understanding of its tasks, has repeatedly been drawn into the confusions and fears of the time, often does not present a favorable image, and still cannot and must not give up its involvement. I hope that you realize that this interference does not occur because of self-importance, but because someone said 2,000 years ago:

You, my people, are called upon if the people are involved. Put your hands on the plough and do not look back, but see the new things and do them!

Margot Honecker: 'Defend Socialism With Weapons'

AU1906110489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jun 89 pp 3-9

[Speech by Public Education Minister Margot Honecker at the opening of the Ninth Pedagogical Congress in East Berlin on 13 June]

[Excerpts] Dear colleagues, dear Comrades, dear friends:

This is the ninth time that a pedagoical congress has been convened since the beginning of the most profound revolutionary restructuring that has taken place in the history of our people. The liberation of the German people by the Soviet Union and its allies was the most severe defeat for powerful, predatory German imperialism. The GDR has emerged on German soil, the power of the workers, peasants, and all working people, where the people have been given what is theirs. Thus, the first true homeland has been created for the people and the GDR youth. [passage omitted]

It was hard work to revive the country, which was destroyed and ruined by the criminal Hitlerite war, to make the economy, of which only a rump remained for us following the division of Germany, efficient one again. This was all the more difficult, since, from the very beginning, we were exposed to a merciless economic war, which has caused heavy losses for the national economy, particularly during the long years of an open border towards imperialism, and which was designed to destroy the economic conditions of existence of the worker-peasant power. We had to defend ourselves—and we continue to do so today—against the military threat posed by NATO—though in a different shape—the permanent political and economic pressure exerted by imperialism and its attempts at intervening in our domestic affairs that have even involved counterrevolutionary acts. Again and again we had to hold our ground in the first line in a severe ideological battle. [passage omitted]

Meeting new challenges and finding new solutions requires a clear and scientifically based idea of socialist society, especially when one considers the fact that there are some people who do not tire of creating spectacular definitions of socialism, people, who before were not even able and willing to pronounce the word socialism, and who did not want to admit, and still have not come to terms with the fact that socialism has determined the fate of mankind since the Great Socialist October Revolution. This raises the question of what kind of socialism these people are thinking of when they speak of pluralistic, human, and modern socialism. It is obvious that, concealed behind their demagogic talk, they are trying to recommend us to return to bourgeois conditions. The real existing socialist society is a modern, humanist, and democratic society (applause), and its opponents will not succeed in "containing" communism and eliminating socialism (applause).

For the development of our concept of education—not just any concept, but a socialist concept of education—it will again and again be necessary for us to be quite clear about the path on which we are shaping socialism, about the path on which it can and must be shaped. Since we support Marxism-Leninism as a creative science that is continually developing and becoming richer, we will again have to pay attention to the new conditions, and we will even have to create these conditions—including the material, political, intellectual, and, not least, those conditions that have to be created through the sector of education—so that we can further perfect our developed socialist society. With us it is not a question of returning to Marx, Engels, and Lenin; we are marching ahead with them into the next millennium. (strong applause) [passage omitted]

The development of socialist society is very dynamic, which raises contradictions that have to be solved. Yet, what is the decisive issue by which the young people can be guided? It is the fact that the USSR and the other socialist countries, some of which are at an earlier stage—as was clearly shown at the Eighth SED Congress in our GDR—others at a later one, through the challenge of the scientific-technological revolution, have started to further develop the productive forces and adequate production conditions, and to satisfy the needs of the working people in an increasingly better way. This makes it necessary to fully develop the initiatives of the working people, the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and young people, and to do everything to eliminate all obstacles that can impair this process. Everybody has to find their own path that corresponds to their national conditions and historical experiences, everybody has to learn from the other without copying the pattern of the other one.

The many and different ways and methods can, and will, make socialism richer as a whole. This is what particularly our young people are beginning to understand more clearly. Yet, why should we not clearly tell our young people that they are justifiably concerned when counterrevolutionaries are trying to interpret things their own way? It is a good thing that our young people are well able to distinguish between revolution and counterrevolution. It is not always immediately obvious what some people are aiming at with the free market economy and pluralism, people who, under the banner of reshaping, do not mean strengthening socialism, but a return to capitalism. We have to explain these issues to our young people in a better way from the class standpoint.

Mistakes Must Not Be Excused, But One Must Beware of Thoughtless Judgments

When one talks about the mistakes and errors that were committed in the revolution, in history, and in politics, and which are being corrected, one has to make clear in particular to the young people: mistakes should and must not be excused; however, one must not make thoughtless judgments about those who acted in this or that way in a certain historical situation, or about what could have been done differently from today's point of view. Some writers do not think much of objectivity and truth, they are arrogant, but they do too little to solve today's problems, (applause) and they deliberately keep quiet about the fact that, regardless of many current difficulties, the young social system in all countries which established socialism has done more for the peoples than all exploitation systems. (strong applause) This is the case in the GDR, in the Soviet Union, in China, in the CSSR, in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Cuba, and in the other socialist countries. Great things have been achieved within a short time on the path of socialism through the enormous efforts of the people!

When young people ask us whether we have told them the truth about the development of socialism in our fraternal countries, we can answer with an easy conscience: Yes, it is the truth. Even though most of these countries were lagging far behind in the past, social progress was achieved, which constitutes a great historical achievement. This primarily comprises the elimination of exploitation of man by man, overcoming mass misery, overcoming illiteracy, and the fact that great creative forces were freed for the economic, social, and cultural upswing of the people. Perhaps we described some things in simplified terms, did not foresee some developments, and knew too little of some things: However, today many things are blown up by enemies with the goal of calling into question socialism and sowing doubt. And quite a few who would vehemently deny being on the side of the enemies of socialism, join this concert thoughtlessly and sometimes with a lot of dedication.

The fact that all forces inimical to socialism have again turned up—and they will do so again and again—to stop socialism on its path and to damage it, can, should, and must be understood by the young people. We have to open their eyes to this so that they realize: It is not yet time to fold one's arms; our time is a time full of struggle, it needs young people who can fight, who help to strengthen socialism, who work for it, who defend it with word and deed, and, if necessary, with weapons. (applause) [passage omitted]

Regardless of the signs under which imperialism wages the attack against socialism, regardless of the slander campaigns, embargoes, and other attempts at blackmail, including the export of counterrevolution, and the attempt to suffocate socialism with an embrace—it will not succeed. However, vigilance is always necessary. Capitalism does not give up without a fight, in particular since it has been forced to face the reality that unleashing a war in the nuclear age would mean to risk the destruction of all of mankind and, thus, one's own destruction.

In the struggle to solve this crucial question of mankind, the strength and initiative of socialism, the great peace offensive of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, have made a decisive contribution to arousing the conscience and awareness of ever broader masses of the people. Even in the bourgeoisie, the sense of reality is gaining ground and people proceed from the premise that disarmament is the command of the hour, that negotiations, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation and competition in all fields—and we are ready to start it—are the most reasonable matters in this world as it is today, where two social systems have to live side by side and together.

Solid Political Knowledge Promotes Independent Thinking and the Correct Class Standpoint

It shows that we are dealing with politically prudent, politically educated young people if they ask themselves and us whether the others are honest, whether they will respect obligations incurred and fulfill contracts. We expect this, but unfortunately we have reason to be suspicious; just think of the violation of the agreements on Afghanistan, on Namibia, and, above all, of the latest statements by the new U.S. Administration and NATO, to which our neighbor, the FRG, belongs as the strongest military power in Europe, saying that reequipment, that is, further armament, will take place.

The NATO military doctrine remains an offensive doctrine. Against better knowledge, they need adherence to the lie of the threat, the lie that the East endangers them, so that the arms companies can make further profits. And one need not be a prophet to predict: The more their hopes dwindle that restructuring and reforms in the socialist countries might mean a return to socialism, the less they will express sympathetic feelings for what is going on in favor of socialism. Their sympathetic feelings have always just gone to certain forces in the socialist countries on which they place their hopes and speculations. One must not forget that they have never given up their anticommunism. [passage omitted]

May 1989 Economic Statistics Published

AU0706193489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jun 89 p 1

[ADN report: "GDR National Economy in May"]

[Text] East Berlin—The increase in the GDR's national economy continued in May. According to preliminary statistics, the produced national income rose 4 percent.

Increasing economic achievements were accompanied by further social progress. Housing conditions were improved for another 51,000 citizens in May. Retail sales rose 4 percent, with sales of industrial goods going up 6.8 percent. The personal disposable income of the population rose 3 percent. In the GDR's foreign trade, an export surplus was achieved again.

In industry, the growth of industrial goods production was 4.2 percent. Net productivity and labor productivity increased by 6 percent. Costs were reduced by 1.2 percent. Further reserves are to be tapped in this sphere. Within the "Return funds to the state—contribute to national income" drive, combines in the sphere of industry and transportation returned energy sources, raw materials, as well as material and financial assets worth M85 million, directly to the state.

In the implementation of the economic strategy, the application of key technologies continued at a rapid pace. A total of 25,877 office and personal computers had been produced by the end of May. This corresponds to a 15-percent increase from last year. The production of printers for computers rose by 12,406 units from last year. The production of monolithically integrated circuits was up 38 percent, that of optoelectronic semiconductor elements 7 percent, and that of robots 9 percent.

To strengthen productive accumulation, seven projects of the state plan for investment were put into operation in May. These include facilities for the production of plastic auxiliary materials in the VEB Chemical Works in Greiz-Doelau, universal tiles in the VEB "Kurt Buerger" Tile Works in Bolzenberg, as well as hoisting equipment for raw brown coal at the Breitenfelf open-pit mine of the Bitterfeld Brown Coal Combine, and at the Reich Walde open-pit mine of the VEB Gleuckauf Brown Coal Works in Knappenrode.

In the sphere of construction, net production rose 4.1 percent and labor productivity 4.6 percent. In industrial construction and the construction of apartments, the plan targets of the national economic plan were fulfilled. A total of 17,199 apartments, 433 places in creches, 1,308 places in kindergardens, 29 classrooms, and 3 sports gymnasiums were completed by the end of May. In Gera Bezirk, it is necessary to eliminate shortfalls in the construction of apartments and sports gymnasiums.

In agriculture, the plan for state procurement was overfulfilled for slaughter animals, milk, and eggs in May. Compared with the same period last year, the procurement of slaughter animals rose 1.4 percent, of milk 3.2 percent, and of eggs 2.8 percent.

In the transportation sector, the transportation tasks of the national economy were fulfilled. The electrified network of the railroads was extended with the Stralsund-Sassnitz/Mukran/Binz and Mockrehna-Falkenberg sections. In the post and telecommunications sector, the performance increase concerning telephone communication and teleprinting was 4.3 percent in May.

In the individual sectors of industry, the following growth in net production and labor productivity and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved by the end of May:

	Net production	Labor Productivity —in percent—	Reduction in prime costs
Coal and energy	6.2	5.5	0.7
Ore mining, metallurgical industry, and potash	1.9	2.0	0.4
Chemical industry	4.8	5.0	0.5
Electrical engineering, electronics	12.5	12.1	3.0
Heavy machinery and installation construction	4.6	6.2	1.1
Machine tools and processing machinery construction	7.9	8.6	1.4
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	4.7	4.2	0.3
Light industry	6.9	6.4	0.8
Glass and ceramics industry	1.8	2.6	0.1
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	6.1	6.5	1.0

Within bezirk-administered industry, the following development in the growth of net production and the production of manufactured goods for the population, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved:

	Net production	Manufactured goods for the population —in percent—	Reduction in prime costs
Capital city of Berlin	9.3	1.4	2.1
Cottbus	7.1	6.5	2.0
Dresden	6.7	2.5	1.4
Erfurt	7.7	5.2	1.5
Frankfurt	6.2	11.0	2.7
Gera	8.8	7.2	1.8
Halle	4.7	5.3	1.3
Karl-Marx-Stadt	6.3	5.2	1.6
Leipzig	5.2	4.0	0.7
Magdeburg	10.3	6.0	1.3
Neubrandenburg	5.2	3.4	1.6
Potsdam	8.7	5.4	1.8
Rostock	7.5	3.4	1.3
Schwerin	10.3	6.6	1.2
Suhl	8.4	4.0	1.9

Gyula Horn Interviewed on Foreign Policy

LD1906204189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1715 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified presenters on the "First-Hand Information" program]

[Text] [Presenter] Our guest in the studio is Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. According to the Romanian party paper SCINTEIA—we have also broadcast the news here on Hungarian radio—our country's ambassador Pal Szucs was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest where he was handed an official protest from the Romanian Government to the Hungarian Government because of, according to the Romanian phrase, antisocialist, anti-Romanian, nationalistic, and revanchist demonstrations which occurred during the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates on 16 June. Has the Hungarian Government given any reply to the Romanian statement yet?

[Horn] We have not answered and, for the time being, we are not going to answer either. I have to say that we were also surprised by the handing over of this note and by what it said. As a matter of fact, we did not experience any such attacks or events as contained in the note, since no anti-Romanian, or chauvinistic, or other expressions or excesses occurred, either during the memorial service or before it.

I would like to add, in my private judgment, that the funeral service was not only dignified but also moderate, apart from one or two speeches. I am thinking of that last speech which was delivered on Heroes Square, which we have to say was controversial in comparison with the whole ceremony. But that is a personal opinion. But to get back to the Romanian note; having studied the note, I have the feeling that it was prepared in advance, since it ignored everything that actually happened on 16 June.

[Presenter] Well, now, perhaps my question will sound very naive and unprofessional, but it can be checked, and we have checked with Tamas Forro [not further identified] that the words Romania and Erdely were not even mentioned. I do know whether it counts or not in diplomacy whether the word was actually mentioned, or is it only the allegation that is important?

[Horn] Of course, the facts also count in diplomacy. That is, nobody can ignore the facts. But, at the same time, bearing in mind the way that relations have developed in past years, or in recent months, well, the note, or its tone, which is contrary to the facts, is not unusual.

[Presenter] You have said that you did not react and you do not expect to react. What is the meaning of this? Why does the Hungarian Foreign Ministry not resolutely and firmly reject the statement by the Romanians? Would this not be political or diplomatic in this situation? Or would it be seen as an admission?

[Horn] Why should it be an admission, since everybody who followed the events knows what happened? To react separately to this, I emphasize, is not our intention. Anyway, it is not up to the Foreign Ministry but up to the government to decide.

[Presenter] You have said that they prepared this note in advance. For what purpose?

[Horn] According to my own suppositions?

[Presenter] I believe that others also justifiably suppose this, for the very reason that the word Romania was not even mentioned. What sort of result could Romania expect from such a demonstration?

[Horn] Again, I can only speculate. In my judgment this fits into the politics or behavior that has been characterizing the political life there now for some months, and the substance is that they constantly criticize and condemn the process of our internal changes. They particularly try to depict this as though it has an anti-Romanian sign and content, although, far from it. [Words indistinct] but we do not assess the internal politics of the Romanian party or leadership. Thus, I judge that this whole event fits into [illegible] behavior.

[Presenter] It is noteworthy that several weeks after Ceausescu's visit to Prague, Jan Fojtik, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, has spoken very sharply—as have the Romanians—about what is happening in Hungary these days. He formulated that counterrevolutionary forces in Hungary are standing under the flag of renewing socialism, and not for the first time. This Czechoslovak reaction obviously coincided with the Romanian reaction. I would add to that that Romania and Czechoslovakia have cancelled, almost simultaneously, negotiations on cross-border tourism which were planned for this week.

[Horn] Well, regarding Jan Fojtik's views, we are very well acquainted with these, since he has been criticized quite often, and not only now, but in the past, as well. His statements have differed significantly from the stances of most of the socialist countries. At the same time, we do not believe that his stance reflects the view either of the CPCZ Central Committee or of the government. I consider it a personal opinion, one we cannot accept, however, since it amounts to a rather rude intervention into Hungarian affairs. Second, it also qualified the processes here in an extremely negative way. Third, it also contains a kind of appeal to the so-called—and I put it this way, although he did not put it quite this way—healthy forces.

Well, these are quite well-known expressions and words from our recent past, but let me emphasize that I consider it his own personal opinion. Thirdly, [as heard] when Nicolae Ceausescu visited Prague recently, we studied the published documents thoroughly and there was not a single reference in them which would suggest some kind of mutual stance in connection with the events and developments in Hungary.

[Presenter] Did the Soviet Union officially react to the demonstration organized by the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth in front of the Soviet Embassy in Budapest on the eve of the burial and what is more, to certain speakers at the memorial service who demanded the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary?

[Horn] No, there was no official reaction, but at the same time I have to say, having read the articles in the Soviet press, as I have already mentioned, these things do no good for relations between the two countries. In my personal opinion, these manifestations are not exactly marks of responsible thinking because today it is our fundamental need not only to be on good terms with the Soviet leadership, but also to strengthen these relations and this trust continuously. Such extreme manifestations mean the weakening of this goodwill.

I would like to add something: Today, the Hungarian Government is not in the position and it does not want to get into the position of having to ban such demonstrations with adminstrative means. However, it would be very important for public opinion to detach itself from such manifestations, the social public opinion. All the more so because it is my conviction that the demonstration and one of the Heroes Square speeches, which we have already mentioned, are reflections of a very narrow, very small group. I would also add that there were not only anti-Soviet remarks in that certain speech, for example, but also very sharp, very hard anticommunist remarks, formulated in a vulgar tone, as well, which were steeped in hatred, which after all, will trigger hatred from others, so this does not exactly help the course of national reconciliation and common action.

[Presenter] Gorbachev has made a successful visit to the FRG. Did the Gorbachev visit have a message for Hungary and the Hungarian leadership?

[Horn] By all means. One of the messages was that an agreement was formulated and signed whose substance and spirit expresses the need for a new Europe to be created that is free from strivings for supremacy. This is extremely important for us, especially for the small- and medium-size countries, since this significantly widens the scope of movement, European potential, and our endeavors as well as those of other small countries.

The second is that the signing of such wide-ranging economic cooperation agreements took place. These are also encouraging for us, too, regarding Hungarian-FRG relations.

Thirdly, we have long been of the opinion that the FRG fulfills a key role, not only in Europe, but also in East-West relations. Well now, if the entire system of Soviet-FRG relations changes and gains new dimensions and new impetus, then this will have a very beneficial effect on the development of the entire European situation.

[Presenter] Let me ask you a few personal questions. In the past week, you have been mentioned as the possible or would-be general secretary of the party. Is this with your consent or without it?

[Horn] I have also seen it and read it in the press, so nobody talked to me about it. Thank God, I do not deal with this. Since I was appointed foreign minister not long ago, I see my basic task now to keep things in order in the area of foreign affairs.

[Presenter] Yes, but we now live in times in which we need a new general secretary. This is what we read and hear and I am asking this seriously. Is a new general secretary actually necessary?

[Horn] Well, I consider that Karoly Grosz has given enormous service in the changes which have taken place in this country. All this time, up till now, I emphasize that the necessity of Karoly Grosz's departure has not come up in the Central Commitee. On the contrary. The last time we reelected the Politburo, General Secretary Karoly Grosz was reelected with a landslide majority vote. I think there were one or two against, that is a negligible number of votes against. Thus, any Grosz affair or Grosz problem has not occurred in the Central Committee.

[Presenter] Well, it is possible that this has occurred in the Politburo, and it is possible that now, as we are talking, they are just discussing this, but the decision-making body, the Central Committee, is far from such wishes in the Politburo.

[Horn] Well, I would not know what sort of stance the Central Committee would adopt in such a case—it will come to light on Friday. But, in my opinion, the Central Committee will discuss this very thoroughly.

[Presenter] As we are talking gossip, it is said that Matyas Szuros has a chance to become the party chairman. You are mentioned as a possible party general secretary. Well, one has a premonition that the foreign affairs people are coming to the forefront, but nothing is happening in the economy. So, we are not saddened by the fact that you and Matyas Szuros could possibly be the two top leaders of the country. But here, at home, something should also happen beyond politics, at last.

[Horn] I cannot decide or foretell what will come of these variations. I say that I would like to remain and work in the area where I am now.

The second, that there is not much happening in the economy, well, most members of the government are economic experts. I regard the prime minister as one of the most educated economists.

Trade Minister on Prospects From Bush Visit

LD2006103689 Budapest MTI in English 0831 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 20, 1989 (MTI-econews)—Since January, 1989 Hungarian companies have founded 320 joint ventures, more than in all previous years together. The Hungarian courts of registration have entered 620 JV's so far.

The biggest number of JV's, 80 in all, emerged with FRG participation, 71 with Austrian and 17 with Italian capital involvement, said minister of trade Tamas Beck in a press statement on the expected economic and trade implications of the upcoming visit to Hungary by U.S. President George Bush.

The Hungarian Government desires U.S. legislation which would grant Hungary most-favoured-nation treatment for a longer period than one year as has been the practice up to now, preferably for five years. Extension of the MFN treatment for a longer period would give business partners both on the U.S. and the Hungarian sides a greater amount of security because they would not have to fear a harshening of trade conditions in the aftermath of potential withdrawal of the preference, Mr Beck said.

Mr Beck says that if, additionally, the U.S. granted Hungary the OPIC [Overseas Private Investment Corporation] guarantees, this would give a powerful uplift to the expansion of Hungarian-U.S. economic cooperation. The OPIC guarantees would encourage more U.S. investors to come to Hungary and put capital into the restructuring of the economy.

Hungary's inclusion in the general system of preferences would amount to another major step forward.

The minister said that Hungarian-U.S. touristical and air transport agreements were to be signed during the President's visit, as well as several JV agreements with considerable U.S. capital involvement. Currently talks are in progress on the formation of some thirty JV's. There are at present 15 Hungarian-U.S. joint ventures.

Even if everything goes as expected, no substantial change can be anticipated in the state of the Hungarian economy, Mr Beck said. His personal opinion is that Hungary would need an aid package of some kind to be able to move out of its current stalemate. The possibility of receiving an aid package will possibly come up during the Budapest talks. "We too have a lot to do in order to invite more working capital, for example, we have to clarify ownership relations as soon as possible," the minister admitted.

"Our greatest hope regarding President Bush's visit is that it will lead to a boost in Hungarian-U.S. trade turnover, which we would like to see rise to USD 1 billion from the current USD 600 million," Mr. Beck said.

Deputy Trade Minister Melega on Trade With U.S.

AU1506113189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Deputy Trade Minister Tibor Melega by "G.Zs": "We Are Striving To Restore Reciprocity—Tibor Melega on Hungarian-U.S. Trade Relations"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] What does the most favored nation trade status mean in international trade relations?

[Melega] This means that the trade partners who have a most favored nation agreement give all the trade favors that they give to any third partner to each other as well. In fact, we received the right to most favored nation status when we joined GATT in 1973. However, GATT rules made it possible for the United States to declare at that time that they neither demanded such status from nor gave such favor to the newcomer, that is, Hungary.

[Question] Despite this position, we receive this favor today, but only for a limited period of time. Why?

[Melega] We signed a trade agreement in 1978, according to which the United States and Hungary trade with each other on the basis of the most favored nation status. However, in accordance with the U.S. regulations, this status is extended each year. If, for example, this extension took place every 3 years or every 5 years, this would not be an essential change. In our view, the extension of this most favored nation trade status for an unlimited period of time would bring a really qualitative change. The U.S. laws allow this.

[Question] How?

[Melega] The laws stipulate that this status can be given to all the countries that do not restrict the emigration of their citizens. This is how Poland has also received this status.

[Question] The law on emigration is only in the preparation stage in Hungary.

[Melega] Indeed. However, we do have a rather liberal passport law and our emigration law will, no doubt, be similarly liberal. A U.S. decision on this issue—which no longer depends on the Senate, but on the President—is also important to us because it would represent a positive sign to our other trade partners.

[Question] What does the statement that the U.S. Administration guarantees investments in Hungary mean?

[Melega] It means that, if a U.S. citizen invests money in Hungary and, for some reason, he cannot assert his demands, the U.S. Administration will, as it were, purchase the investment from him. In other words, from that moment on, we are dealing with the state and not with the investor.

[Question] And the state, of course, is thus encouraging the export of capital. It is useless to dwell on the issue of reciprocity here, but is there such a clause in applying the most favored nation status?

[Melega] Now the issue on the agenda is to restore reciprocity because, since 1978, we have been using the most favored nation customs duty on U.S. goods for an unlimited period of time; there is no need for extension formalities.

[Question] The upcoming visit by President Bush will obviously provide an opportunity to hold personal negotiations on this issue too.

[Melega] We are expecting multilateral talks. The President will be accompanied by a large entourage of advisers and thus, one can imagine that the application of most favored nation trade status for an unlimited period of time will also be on the agenda of the political and economic talks. Perhaps even the preferential customs treatment, the one we have with Austria, for example, will also be on the agenda.

Kovacs on Relations With European Community

LD1606190189 Budapest MTI in English
1810 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Madrid, June 16 (MTI)—Ten days before the Madrid summit of the European Communities, Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, held important talks in the Spanish capital from the point of view of Hugnarian political and external economic relations. In an interview with MTI's Madrid correspondent, Mr Kovacs detailed the main points discussed in the course of his talks.

'The Hungarian side initiated this meeting, as we held it necessary to set down how we see the furtherance of relations between Hungary and the European Communities while Spain, which shows special sympathy towards Hungary, still presides over the body. We proposed to make political dialogue between Hungary and the 12 more regular, and to raise this to a higher level. To promote this, we invited the state secretaries, or foreign policy chief directors of the foreign ministries of the 12 member countries of the EC to hold one of their forthcoming sessions in Budapest. This would also provide an opportunity for them to meet with Hungarian political and economic leaders, and to form a personal picture about the Hungarian reform processes. We initiated a series of meetings on a Foreign Ministry level, and expressed our readiness to join into the cooperation programmes of the EC.'

In answer to a question on the approach at the talks with respect to intensifying economic cooperation, Mr Kovacs noted:

'I stressed the Hungarian demand for the EC to accelerate the realization of the agreement signed last September with Hungary. I encouraged that the quantitative restrictions applied in the case of Hungary be eliminated in 1992, if possible, instead of 1995. A closely related Hungarian demand is to officially discontinue the ranking of "country with state'run trade", in view of the reform processes taking place in the country. The idea that the EEC should conclude a so-called asymmetrical free trade agreement with Hungary was mentioned in the interest of advance. With this, we could temporarily improve Hungary's trade positions by ensuring unilateral tariffs and other benefits', Mr Kovacs said, among others.

Grosz Meets Italian Communist Party Leader

LD1606150589 Budapest MTI in English
1439 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz met Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, in the Central Committee's headquarters on Friday.

The general secretary informed his guest about Hungary's efforts to achieve a democratic and humane socialist society which does not copy the system of other countries, but combines national experience with the values of European progress and the socialist movement. The honest review of the past decades and their political lessons, as well as the comprehensive evaluation of events, plays a crucial role in this process.

According to Achille Occhetto, the success of Hungarian endeavours can also prove that the reform of socialism is a realistic goal. He expressed his appreciaiton at the fact that the HSWP initiated the review of the lives of Imre Nagy and his associates and arrived at the conclusion that the judgement passed in their trial was ungrounded. 'It is in our common interest that the questions be looked into by historians in the future,' the Italian general secretary said.

In the course of the cordial and friendly meeting, both sides evaluated the cooperation between the HSWP and the Italian Communist Party as successful and free of any problems.

Nemeth, Poszgay Receive Italy's Craxi, Others

LD1606173189 Budapest MTI in English
1705 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, held talks in Parliament on Friday with Bettino Craxi, general secretary of the Italian Socialist

Party, and Senators Fabio Fabbri and Margerita Boniver, who are accompanying Mr Craxi. Also present was Joseph Nitti, ambassador of the Italian Republic to Budapest.

Pozsgay on Army, Reforms, Nagy, Democratization

AU1906135089 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 18 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay by Ulrich Schacht in Budapest: "The Army Must Not Have a Say"; date not given]

[Text] WELT AM SONNTAG: Mr State Minister, has the Beijing night of blood dampened the optimism of the Hungarian reformers?

Pozsgay: The events in Tiananmen Square have only strengthened the determination of the real reformers to prevent a development such as in China in our country by radical means. On the other hand, one cannot overlook the events in China, or what happened in Bonn during Gorbachev's visit. I believe you credit us with the ability to gather something from the events in Bonn. The statements on sovereignty and independence in particular that were made in the joint communique have made it additionally clear to us that we are permitted to furnish our room in the European house ourselves. Even if we were not to furnish it in the right way, this would be exclusively our business.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Within a few months, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has changed its attitude toward Imre Nagy and his comrades at a sensational speed.

Pozsgay: This happened so fast because there were an incredible number of tasks, omissions, and shortcomings that we had to tackle at the same time. For the present situation has been created by a deep crisis which took hold of the whole of society. Apart from this, I think that this speed was also necessary because one cannot live for long in a country where old structures are dismantled without replacing them with new ones. Thus, one cannot live on rubble for a long time. Therefore, the institutions of a law-governed state, for example, need to be created as fast as possible. The international environment—for example the Soviet Union—is particular supportive.

WELT AM SONNTAG: On the magazine program "168 Hours" you said that Imre Nagy is an example for you. Is this confession still dangerous or is it already self-evident?

Pozsgay: It surely continues to be somewhat risky to stand openly by Imre Nagy. On the other hand, I am confident that I could be a modest heir of his lifework and continue it. Of course, I also hope that I will not have to share his fate. However, I feel that I am in the middle of the people and therefore I think that I am protected. The more concerned the people are about me, the more courageous I can be.

WELT AM SONNTAG: What course will the MSZMP's process of democratization take?

Pozsgay: At any rate, this is an encouraging sign that in the meantime horizontal reform circles have also been established. That is to say, that the base finally wants to take charge of the development of the party's policy.

WELT AM SONNTAG: The political process of democratization in Hungary has economic consequences which initially mean economic burdens for many people. In what way will the reformers tackle this?

Pozsgay: In this period I am also in favor of a government policy that makes economic profits possible for certain strata. Here I am specifically thinking of a new stratum of entrepreneurs which will be indispensable. At the same time, however, the government must protect those who are not to blame for their misery by a comprehensive social security system.

WELT AM SONNTAG: What is the role of the Army, the police, and the secret service today and in the future?

Pozsgay: In a democratic system of pluralism, the army and the police can only work on a constitutional basis. They must not have any say in decisions that concern daily political events. In this context, I hope very much that our social development will not cause a situation in Hungary like in a civil war.

Pozsgay on First Session of Roundtable Talks

AU1806182689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Jun 89 p 2

[Interview with MSZMP Politburo member and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by "B.A.": "The Government Will Also Voice its Opinion"—following the plenary session of the roundtable talks held in Budapest on 13 June]

[Text] After the plenary session, Imre Pozsgay answered our correspondent's questions.

[Question] I think it is no accident that a minister of state has also received a place in the negotiating group of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. What will be the role of the government in the talks that have just begun and what tasks will the government have?

[Pozsgay] The talks will determine the role of the government. I am sure that the government will have a role, and this has already emerged from the declarations of intention, because we must also decide on state affairs that directly affect the executive power, like organizing the preparation of legislation and arranging for legislation to be publicized, as well as setting up the infrastructure of various political parties and movements and giving them opportunities for publicity. In addition, as an independent political force, the government will also express its opinions during certain phases of the negotiations, because it also has to formulate its own position as a body concerning the aforementioned major issues. Therefore, I do not think that this will be in the distant future, namely, that the government will directly participate in advancing the talks and in implementing the agreements.

[Question] Marked differences of opinions emerged from the declarations of intentions concerning the essential laws. The Opposition Roundtable envisages legislation on these issues after the elections. What is your opinion about this?

[Pozsgay] It has become clear from the declarations of intentions that the National Assembly chairman will have tasks to fulfill in coordinating these opinions. The positions of the MSZMP and the government are identical in that the current National Assembly also has tasks concerning the fundamental laws without which it is simply impossible to make the transition. For example, if the parliament does not create an election law, there will be no means of organizing free elections. Therefore, the question is not whether the current parliament will deal with a fundamental law or not, but whether we will be able to agree on this issue.

Smallholders' Party Names Roundtable Delegates

LD1506215389 Budpest MTI in English
1939 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—The Political Committee of the Independent Smallholders' Party held a session on Thursday in Budapest. The body passed a resolution that Imre Boross, Istvan Prepeliczay and Sandor Bejczi are to represent the party in the opposition roundtable at the high-level talks with the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the social organizations seated at the third side. According to the position of the Independent Smallholders' Party Political Committee, the current parliament is not suited to fulfil its tasks, as it does not express the proportions of the population. At the same time, the legitimacy of the body cannot be disputed.

The document, which deals with the elections, sets down: It is an all-national interest that elections be held next year. The Political Committee of the Independent Smallholders' Party decided to set up the party's youth organization.

Spokesman Denies Rumors About Kadar's Health

LD1906192689 Budapest MTI in English
1819 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—In a radio interview, Emil Kimmel, deputy spokesman for the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, denied recent rumours about the health of former party president, Janus Kadar. Some rumours had it that Kadar's health had gravely deteriorated, some were spreading news of his death, while yet others claimed he was staying in Moscow or Cuba.

Mr Kimmel said he had held a two-and-a-half-hour discussion with [words indistinct] but his ability to concentrate was not the same as before. This was why it had taken him longer than usual to reply to birthday greetings sent to him on May 26.

In the past month, there had been no change in Mr Kadar's health. If a significant change were to take place, a medical bulletin would be issued, Mr Kimmel concluded.

NEPSZABADSAG Comments on Nagy Funeral

LD1906124789 Budapest MTI in English
1149 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—"Shaking Hands for the Nation" is the title of an article carried by the Monday issue of the daily "NEPSZABADSAG" on the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates, as well as the funeral orations on Friday.

"The reverential commemoration in Heroes' Square was up to the importance of the event, expressing the feelings of our fellow compatriots and our ability to face our own history, including the white spots, as well as to review our past notions. The fact that the prime minister and the speaker of parliament were also present at the ceremony demonstrates that the present leaders of Hungary, on the course of reform, feel respect and appreciation towards the persons who wanted to embark on this road, in a sense, ahead of their era about three decades ago. We have taken vigorous and determined steps on the path to national reconciliation in Hungary. This reconciliation can be nothing but universal and comprehensive, as it can make no exceptions."

In connection with the orations delivered in Heroes' Square, "NEPSZABADSAG" points out:

"We should not conceal—as it is part of justice—that certain orations included some dissonant notes. Some speakers made certain generalizations on the basis of past events that are utterly unfair to socialism. For socialism is not equal to Stalinism.

"In sharp contrast to the sober tone of Bela Kiraly and others, some of the speakers outlined a totally unrealistic foreign political programme, although a funeral service is hardly an appropriate place for reading out manifestos. And if, in addition, the programme they outline is aimed at upsetting our relations with the Soviet Union marked by Gorbachev's policy, there is a cause for worry. For this Soviet Union is not anti-reformist like the one in 1956. This is not the same Soviet Union as the one under Stalin or Khrushchev, and not in the least like the one under Brezhnev. It is exactly Moscow, wholeheartedly supporting Hungarian reform endevours, which sets a kind of example to the reform communists and, in general, the advocates of progress in Hungary," stresses "NEPSZABADSAG".

Editorial Views Defense Budget, Role of Army

AU1506150689 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial by Erno Keseru: "Without Illusions"]

[Text] Last week's parliament session quoted the opinion of a voting citizen. In his letter to the parliament deputies, the citizen urged further cuts in the defense budget because, in his view, money spent on defense is money wasted. "Who wants to occupy our country and then pay our accumulated debts?" Laughter in the benches.

Well, as we can see, the life and activity of the armed forces is no longer a taboo subject. Only in the coalition years after the liberation have we ever spoken about the Army's affairs so openly. At that time, we were also struggling with serious economic problems and we questioned the proportion of the defense budget. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi also expressed his opinion about this in parliament in 1947. His speech has not been quoted much so far because, in the past decades, our watchword was that if we want peace, we should prepare for war. As this our eminent scientist, Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, said: "In our current poverty, when we have very limited resources, we should doubly examine the areas in which we spend these limited funds. The defense budget makes up 80 million [currency not specified], and at the same time our universities are unable to function, our entire scientific research is on the brink of ruin, and our young people, our students are living in misery...." He was a scientist, and thus, one can understand that he was a pacifist too. He continued his speech as follows: "Against whom do we need an Army? Against whom do we want to wage war? Perhaps against some big power? Or against our neighbors with whom we want to coexist in peace and understand each other?" He regarded wars as a remnant of middle age barbarism, and remembering the various dishonorable appearances of Hungarian troops, he burst out as follows: "If once a time came in which our lives depended on our Army, then we would be doomed anyway.... Therefore, I do not see any reason not to abandon the path of initial militarism and declare our military neutrality, and disarm our Army for good."

The public has always welcomed such arguments. Although most people who agree with this are also aware that, for the time being, such a demand is only an illusion. Nowadays, no state can exist without a certain amount of defense forces. Even the neutral countries in Europe carry such defense burdens, although we would gladly compare with them. For example, the traditionally neutral countries in Europe spend about 10 to 20 percent of their budget, or 1.5 to 3.5 percent of their GNP, on defense. (It is another matter that, in the event of war, they would be unable to put up resistance to a large foreign attack.)

Hungary allocates 4.5 percent of its GNP to military expenditure. This proportion would not cause any kind of tension under normal economic and financial conditions. But how far are we from normal conditions? Therefore, one should welcome the savings efforts in the defense budget, although we have not spoiled the Army too much so far either. For example, according to the data of the International Peace Research Institute in Stockholm, for the size of its population, Hungary spends the smallest amount on armament in Eastern Europe.

During a recent visit to the People's Army, the Hungarian premier stressed that Hungary needed a smaller but more organized Army, armed with more modern weapons. He spoke of a modest modernization, but, presumably many people winced at that too. "Billions will again go down the drain"—I heard my neighbor complain—"to have the Army march right and left and have ornate flaps dangling on their uniforms...." I tried to calm him down by saying that, by the time this development takes place, another type of leadership and another parliament will control the budget.

Various alternative organizations have also formulated in their forums lately the need for a new military policy and new principles and methods of Army guidance. We should determine the relations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and of the other parties with the Armed Forces. The issue is justified, but, I think it is not necessary to discover everything anew. A look back at the years of coalition could accelerate a consensus. Democratization of the Army and the interpretation of this need were also on the agenda at that time. In his acceptance speech, the then Defense Minister Peter Veres said that the Army did not belong to one party or another, nor to the coalition; the Army belongs to the entire nation. Asked whether the soldiers should engage in politics, Veres said the following: "The Army soldiers should have a political conscience and political belief. However, everyday party policy is not compatible with the essence and the mission of the Army."

It is a fact that the people have a certain fear of the Army, both here and abroad. It is difficult to predict when the Army turns to the right or to the left. Although the Hungarian officers are convincingly saying today that the Army is in favor of reforms, there is still doubt and uncertainty among the people. Many citizens wonder whether the Army could not be used to put an end to the reforms or whether it will not support those who want to go back to the previous way of doing things? Previously, we had only the Polish example to haunt us, but now we also have the Chinese example.

The changing domestic policy and the reorganization of the balance of forces obviously also affect the Army. However, more time is needed for changes in the principles of the leadership and in the Army personnel, changes that will better suit the new political conditions. However, one should consider carefully that it would hardly be a wise thing to weaken the well-trained stock of Army officers and warrant officers who make up the core of our Army, and to undermine their security and sense of vocation by reducing their numbers.

We must live with this force and spend money on it, hoping that it will serve the processes that reflect the nation's interests, rather than supress them. For my part, I can only highly appreciate one of the positions of the Hungarian Democratic Forum on the Armed Forces, a position declared in May and which contains reality and sober-mindedness: "We know that many people of undoubted honesty and professional skill are active in the traditional defense organizations. The historical events of the 20th century also prove that, in difficult and decisive situations, the Hungarian Armed Forces went hand in hand with the public forces responsible for the cause of our nation and of democracy."

We have no other choice but believe in and trust this by supporting everything that gives stability to today's restructuring, and avoiding everything that could lead to violence.

Austrian, Hungarian Youth Present Appeal

AU1306140489 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 13 Jun 89 p 4

[Text] Representatives of the Vienna Young Austrian People's Party and the Hungarian Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ)—one of the Hungarian opposition groups—have presented a catalogue of demands on the topics of the environment, the world exhibition, and human rights to the governments of Austria and Hungary.

In this context, FIDESZ Chairman Anzelm Barany appealed to the Austrian Government to act in accordance with political considerations "in the Nagymaros affair." If Hungary were to suffer any damage as a result of Austria's clinging to "claims for maximum damages," the opposition would be blamed for it, Barany stressed.

Schools To End Compulsory Russian Teaching

LD1906111689 Budapest MTI in English 0959 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—The Hungarian minister of education has put out a communique on foreign language instruction in institutions of elementary and secondary education. The document includes the minister's permission for these institutions to determine the foreign languages to be compulsorily taken by their students. (So far this language has been the Russian.)

The instruction of one foreign language will remain compulsory in eight-grade elementary schools, and that of one or two languages—depending on the type of the institution—at four-grade secondary schools.

Conditions of adopting the system of optional language choice are as follows:

Instruction of the selected foreign language should be introduced in 4th (or, at the latest, 5th) grade of the elementary school, in 3rd grade in case of specialized training, and in the 1st grade of secondary schools.

Full-time teachers of Russian should not lose their employment, and they should be provided the possibility of acquiring a certificate of teaching in another language.

Russian can be taught as an optional language in any grade at elementary schools where nationality languages are instructed or used as the medium of instruction, or at bilingual ethnic elementary schools. At schools teaching the tongue of a nationality, the number of lessons released should be turned to teaching the language of that particular nationality, while at bilingual schools, the lessons should be taken over by another foreign tongus.

Further Reportage on Election Results

Party Spokesman Comments

LD1606205989 Warsaw PAP in English
2022 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—At a press conference staged here today PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] spokesman Jan Bisztyga stated that the 13th Plenum of the PUWP CC is likely to be held in the last decade [20th-30th] of June.

Referring to the elections, Jan Bisztyga said that they were an important act of ending the epoch of the bureaucratic socialism and of initiating the socialism of parliamentary democracy. The fact proves success of the policy of renewal pursued by the PUWP for years.

The election showed a realistic social alignment of forces in Poland. Society supported emotionally "Solidarity" and that is social majority, but over 30 percent of voters supported the coalition and that is rational support based on the electorate's bold decision. That is also a durable fact in its future obligations. Almost 40 percent of society did not take part in the election. It reflects, among other things, distance from the bipolar, confrontational approach to the country's reality. This real alignment of forces must be taken into account, Bisztyga stated.

The spokesman stressed that the election in itself does not solve any of the existing problems or threats in Poland. He ranked the method of exercising authority in the new alignment of forces among the most important issues resulting from the election. Thinking in terms of a great coalition, Bisztyga said, means not only outlining composition of powers, but also a way of political thinking about responsibility for the state. It concerns all forces participating in the political life, especially "Solidarity".

The party is not going to back out from the policy of reforms. Jan Bisztyga stated. Both in the East and West we perceive support for the Polish policy of reforms, including the reformatory policy of the party headed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, the PUWP CC spokesman said further. It is a new phenomenon, conducive to bold steps in future, especially in the economic sphere. Such a foreign stand curbs adventurism of those forces that would like to change the Polish reality in a violent manner.

Answering a question on a turnout at the second round of election, Bisztyga stated that he expects it to be smaller than on June 4.

Some of the questions concerned appointment of a candidate for president. All decisions on the issue will be taken by the Central Committee at its 13th plenum, therefore it is difficult to anticipate events, the PUWP CC spokesman said.

Rakowski Casts Vote in 2d Round

LD1806144989 Warsaw PAP in English
1126 GMT 18 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 18—Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski cast his vote in the second round of Sejm and Senate elections today.

Replying to questions from journalists gathered outside the polling station, Rakowski said that chances for solving Polish problems depended on all partners, on participants of the changed political situation in the country.

Elections changed the political landscape, but not the economic one, Rakowski said, explaining that it was hard for democracy to function well when economic situation was lacking improvement.

Asked about the structure of the new government, Rakowski replied that if the coalition and his party gave him the task of forming a new government then he would answer.

Jaruzelski Votes; Discusses Reform

LD1806144789 Warsaw PAP in English
1156 GMT 18 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 18—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski cast his vote in the morning hours.

Asked if he regretted the initiative of expanding democratic freedoms Jaruzelski said that the decision assumed certain risk, but one set by round table providing stability and extension of democracy. [sentence as received]

Speaking about the possibility of governing by consensus Jaruzelski said that it should be squared with strong government because otherwise reforms for which [word indistinct] were standing would not be implemented.

Replying to a question on methods which the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] should apply to gain greater social support, Jaruzelski pointed that further development of events, party honesty, its consistency at the round table and the elections would be the best evidence that it had been and remained a force inspiring Poland's development.

Commenting on Mitterrand's visit to Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that it brought positive results and that both countries were returning to the path of friendship and cooperation.

Orzechowski, Sekula Win Seats

LD1906211489 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—By unofficial estimates of the run-off of the elections to the Sejm and the Senate, reported by the Polish TV prime time news bulletin tonight, seats in the Sejm were won by Andrzej Bratkowski and Marcin Swiecicki (PUWP candidates in Warsaw), Marian Orzechowski (PUWP candidate in Koszalin), Jozef Gajewicz and Ludwik Bednarski (in Krakow), and Prof Roman Ney (who defeated Prof Marian Stepien in Nowy Sacz).

In Katowice Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula won a Sejm seat while Manfred Gorywoda and Bogumil Ferensztajn were not elected.

Among those who won seats in the Senate were Zdzislaw Nowicki (candidate of the Solidarity Citizens Committee) and Henryk Stoklosa (private businessman), both representing Pila, Jan Jozef Lipski (the Solidarity Citizens Committees candidate in Radom, who defeated Jan Pajak, chairman of the rural Solidarity in that town) and Cezary Jozefiak (candidate of the Solidarity Citizens Committee in Lodz, who defeated Jan Plocienniczak).

Solidarity Executive Meets

LD1906125689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] A meeting of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity National Executive Committee has been held in Gdansk. The first round of the Sejm and Senate elections was assessed. The composition of the committee was supplemented with the representatives of new regions. The future of the regional and local Solidarity Citizens' Committees was discussed. With the end of the elections, the Solidarity Citizens' Committees end their activities. A resolution was adopted in connection with the elections—prescribed in the organization's rules—to the works commissions of NSZZ Solidarity which should be completed by 30 September. Later, Solidarity will start to elect regional bodies and finally to prepare for the national congress of delegates during which the union leadership will be chosen.

Walesa Discusses Election Results, Future

AU1906154189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 19 Jun 89 pp 124-125

[Unattributed interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa: "We Are Only at the Beginning"; date, place not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Chairman, after the historic election defeat of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), Solidarity is seen as the great winner now. What does this mean for Poland?

Walesa: The election result is the penalty for 45 years of communist exercise of power. At the same time, however, the people demonstrated that they do not want to continue living as before, that they want reforms, real reforms.

DER SPIEGEL: The call for reforms is not really that new....

Walesa: The reformers—on both sides—must see the election result as an obligation, an obligation for more radical and faster actions. If this is not done now after these elections, the people will tell us, Solidarity, too: That is enough!

DER SPIEGEL: What will change in the Poles' lives after these landslide elections?

Walesa: There is no simple answer to this, because it not only depends on those who have been elected but it depends much more on the voters. Striking certain names off the ballots does not achieve much; it is necessary to actively participate in the reform process.

DER SPIEGEL: The voters, the majority of whom struck off the names of top candidates of the ruling party coalition from the national ballot, now accuse you of having neglected the voters' will by generously returning the 33 Sejm seats which the PZPR lost. What do the trade union leaders say about this accusation?

Walesa: The statements are different, because the people are different, too. However, the accusations are based on a misunderstanding. Even though the party and its allies were indeed incapable of filling the 65 percent of the Sejm seats that were agreed upon at the roundtable, we must not exploit this situation, because we agreed to this 65 percent and gave our word. Should we break it like the government did in dealing with us in the past? We will not do this, no matter how strong the pressure by the voters may be. The renewal that we are striving for also includes a new relationship between those in power and the people and their representatives.

DER SPIEGEL: But this is hardly the only reason for the help you are giving to the party.

Walesa: This is a sufficient reason. In addition, many voters seem to be convinced that Solidarity and the entire opposition camp would be capable of taking over the government today. However, this is not the case. The 35 percent of responsibility that we have accepted now is hard enough for us.

DER SPIEGEL: Does General Jaruzelski's offer to form a grand coalition have no chance at all of being accepted by you?

Walesa: From the very beginning the government has attempted to integrate the independent trade union forces, including Solidarity, into the old structures and in the old principles of the exercise of power and of making them coresponsible for the compromise economic system at the price of one or two government seats.

DER SPIEGEL: And you were against this from the very start?

Walesa: Yes, we stated from the very beginning: What we want are not seats in the Cabinet but more farreaching reforms, which enable us to exercise the rights we have thanks to the new laws and gradually also the right to participate in governing the country. Now we are only at the beginning of this path of reforms.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, for the time being you will only accept the role as opposition in the future Sejm?

Walesa: As the opposition we will support all reform steps by the government—in the economy and in politics. However, we will boycott all actions by the government that run contrary to our striving for a pluralistic, fully democratic system.

Accordingly, we only want to be the opposition for the time being, an opposition that not only observers and criticizes but also supports renewal in the state, an opposition that learns and keeps on learning.

DER SPIEGEL: Is your refusal to accept government responsibility shared by the entire Solidarity leadership or are there differences of opinion on this question?

Walesa: If we lived in a normal world, the two dominating political forces would have to divide—to put it in simple terms—power among them after the last elections. The one would then have the office of the state president, for instance, and the other one that of the premier—with all its consequences. However, in today's Poland it is still too early for such a maneuver—both for the entire opposition camp and for society, not to speak of geopolitics. Therefore I propose to wait for 4 years until the next Sejm elections.

DER SPIEGEL: You did not answer our question: Are there also other opinions on this topic within the Solidarity leadership?

Walesa: Of course, we discuss all these questions and also analyze other possibilities. I think that some sort of compromise solution will emerge out of our discussions.

DER SPIEGEL: Which conditions have to be fulfilled so that Solidarity would be willing to accept government responsibility?

Walesa: Above all, it must finally work as a trade union. Then political parties and corresponding cadres would have to emerge from its rank who would be able to participate in bearing such responsibility.

DER SPIEGEL: Does your organization not fulfill these requirements?

Walesa: From the standpoint which I just mentioned Solidarity is an unnatural body, because it comprises various political movements. This has to be ended. This was good at the time of struggle, but it is disturbing at a time when we start to manage the field we have gained. This is the most important of the conditions you are asking about.

DER SPIEGEL: Warsaw party circles are talking about an allegedly imminent split within the PZPR, which is because of political reasons. According to these rumors, the reform wing, which brought about the agreement at the roundtable together with you, is considering the founding of a new, social-democratically oriented party. Would this be a potential coalition partner for Solidarity?

Walesa: I have also heard about this. However, since I am not a party member I do not know exactly what it is all about. After all, this is a problem of the party and not ours.

DER SPIEGEL: Will the Solidarity deputies in the Sejm and Senate vote in favor of Gen Jaruzelski running for president?

Walesa: I do not know, I am not a deputy. What I know is that we have at least four alternatives of action on this question.

DER SPIEGEL: Which ones?

Walesa: The first—to support someone from the circle of the 65 percent; the second—to abstain from any support; the third—nominating Walesa as a candidate; the fourth—proposing someone from around him for this office.

DER SPIEGEL: What do you think about alternative number three?

Walesa: I personally would not like to run and I think that my people should not, either. Neither I nor they have any connections with the corresponding personalities in the neighboring countries, with Mr Gorbachev or Mr Honecker, for instance, and others.

In order to seriously think about the presidency, one would have had to meet these personalities, would have to cultivate contacts with them, and would have to be present in the political arena of the Warsaw Pact states. However, this is not the case. How can one run for the office of state president under such conditions?

DER SPIEGEL: Does this also apply to the next parliamentary elections?

Walesa: In 4 years we will perhaps have overcome this obstacle. At least, this is what logic and reason command. However, in history many political facts emerged without consideration for logic and realism.

DER SPIEGEL: How would you describe the path that Solidarity and you personally are facing?

Walesa: We now have political opportunities, which have existed never before. The lack of such opportunities in the past has led to the bankruptcy of Poland's economy, among other things. Now I am afraid of a reverse situation: that the difficult economic situation might put an end to the still unstable but nevertheless promising new political situation.

Jaruzelski Meets Humanitarian Law Official

LD1906222189 Warsaw PAP in English 2233 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Professor Jovic Patrnogic, chairman of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law based in San Remo, Italy.

Patrnogic briefed the president of the Council of State on nine-year-long work of the institute for development of the international humanitarian law and propagation of the knowledge on its principles. He highly assessed Polish scientists' share in developing the institute's activity.

Patrnogic also talked about assumptions of the international symposium on main current problems in observing regulations of the international humanitarian law to be held in Warsaw on June 20 to 23.

Professor Patrnogic handed to Wojciech Jaruzelski an honorary medal of the institute granted to him (?in recognition) of his dedication to the cause of peace.

Baka, Solidarity Official Discuss Economy

LD1706205189 Warsaw PAP in English 1941 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 17—The team for economy and social policy appointed by the liaison commission held an inaugural meeting today, co-chaired by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski. The main goal of the team's activities will be coordinating forms and monitoring the implementation of arrangements concerning economic questions which were made at the round table.

Already at the first meeting the opposition-Solidarity side was informed about the state of work on the implementation of the round-table arrangements which should be realized until the end of the second quarter of this year. Among the 15 tasks in this group decisions were made concerning, among other things, halting the extraction of coal Saturdays on the third shift, and banning the imports of wastes to Poland.

The fulfilment of other arrangements which require introducing corrections to the current economic plans is envisaged shortly. This concerns the correction of the central annual economic plan resulting from the arranged introduction of a five-day working week for miners. Cuts of outlays for fuel and power industry were made as part of correcting the annual plan which should favourably affect the future state of the environment.

Personnel Change in Justice Ministry Announced

AU1906112589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Jun 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of justice, the chairman of the Council of Ministers recalled Tadeusz Skora from the post of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Justice, expressing his recognition and thanks for the many years of loyal service, and appointed Wojciech Tomczyk to the vacant post of undersecretary of state at the above ministry.

Wojciech Tomczyk was born in 1940 in Kolo, presently in Konin Voivodship, into an intelligentsia family. He graduated from the University of Warsaw with a Master of Law degree. He began his professional career in 1963 as a trainee judge in the Warsaw Voivodship court and was subsequently appointed assistant judge in the Warsaw District Court. From 1966 he was seconded three times from the district court for extended periods—twice to the Ministry of Justice where he worked, first as senior councillor in the new legislation department and on the second occasion as director of the chairman's office, and once to the Supreme Court where he worked as a member of the Judgments Department from 1972 to 1976. He was appointed judge of the voivodship court during this last period of secondment. From 1976 he held the position of ministerial adviser, and in 1977 he became director of the ministerial cabinet.

He is an active member of the Association of Polish Lawyers, and has held, among others, the post of deputy chairman of its Warsaw branch, and the posts of chairman and deputy chairman of one of the commissions of the association's Main Governing Council. Since 1980 he has been Polish correspondent to the United Nations, in the field of crime prevention. Since 1980 he has been chairman of the Foundation for the Helping of Victims of Crime. He is a member of the Polish United Workers Party, and is married, with two daughters.

Rykowski, Gornicki News Conference 13 Jun

AU1906143189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Jun 89 pp 1, 6

[Transcript of news conference by Deputy Government Spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski and Lieutenant Colonel Wieslaw Gornicki, adviser to the chairman of the State Council, at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 13 June]

[Text] Zbyslaw Rykowski: I have invited Lieutenant Colonel Gornicki, who accompanied the chairman of the

State Council on his visits to Belgium and Great Britain, to take part in today's news conference.

Lt Col Wieslaw Gornicki: Thank you for the invitation. I will speak on only one issue, that is, the State Council chairman's visits and the results that they produced. I took part in talks held in very confined circles, which places certain limitations on my ability to act as a spokesman. I will not be able to answer every question.

I would like to particularly stress that the results of the visits, especially the visit to Great Britain, represent the first real, concrete step toward the normalization of credit and financial relations between Poland and the West. I would even go so far as to say that the deadlock in which we have found ourselves for so many years has finally been broken. I think that the 30 hours in Great Britain and the 20 hours in Belgium could be described as marking the definite close of the period of restrictions and isolation. We still do not have a full picture of the economic results produced by the talks. Our experts are studying the documents. However, it is absolutely certain today that the West—well, perhaps not the entire West, but in any case significant Western countries—has carried out a general reassessment of its relations with Poland.

I would like to draw your attention to the timing of the visit. It took place between the first and second rounds of the elections. It is, of course, no coincidence that this moment was chosen by both Western governments and that a very special atmosphere surrounded the State Council chairman's trip.

To my mind, the fact that Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit has produced the first concrete results is an affirmation of our reform course, which, as we all know, was initially either completely called into doubt or wrongly interpreted, or, more recently, considered a way of seeking gifts.

Quite simply, what we are seeking is normalization. However, in view of a complicated combination of various factors, the effects of the restrictions, and the simultaneous appearance of unfavorable economic and demographic phenomena in Poland, we were counting on some kind of preferential treatment. I think that the decisions that have now been made tend in this direction.

I would like you to be convinced that no one in Poland is counting on a miracle or entertaining any childish hopes. We do not label the British, Belgian, or EEC decisions as "aid." In Polish, the word has connotations of charity. However, we are counting on support. There is nothing shameful or politically ambiguous about that.

On behalf of the State Council chairman, I would like to express great recognition for the stance of the Belgian Government and for what was said by Prime Minister Martens in particular. We felt honored when he said that he would like to become "Poland's spokesman in the European Community." We appreciate this. I would like to take this opportunity to express thanks to His Royal Highness and the Belgian Government for the extraordinary courtesy that surrounded the visit. This was reflected in, among other things, accommodating our delegation in the royal Stuyvenberg Palace. This was of symbolic importance for us, because the palace was the last residence of the respected and well-liked Belgian Queen Elizabeth II, who was popular in Poland and came to our country in 1952 to attend a Chopin competition.

I would prefer to avoid giving detailed explanations regarding the talks with Mr Delors. The simple reason for this is that I am not an economist. If you request detailed information, then we will seek to provide it a soon as possible, but someone else will do that. All I can say is that Mr Delors, who spoke with the general for 2 hours and 40 minutes instead of the planned 1 hour, said that the EEC is determined to continue with and implement its decision of 22 May, which accords particular attention to the treatment of relations between Poland and the EEC. This can be interpreted as priority treatment.

I began with Belgium, because such was the chronological order of the trip. In addition, it was the first Western European capital that General Wojciech Jaruzelski visited following the first round of the elections.

We in Poland have a very good memory. We will always remember those countries that were the first to note the authentic nature of our reform intentions. I am thinking primarily of the socialist countries, but also of countries such as India, Greece, Austria, and a significant number of Arab and north African countries. To a significant extent, they started paving the way to the trip a few years ago.

I think that when taking such important decisions, and they really are important, the Western countries were driven by a sense of confidence in the wisdom and responsibility of all Polish society. On the other hand, they lent expression to their unequivocal support for the reformist line of Wojciech Jaruzelski and of people who think the same way as he does.

I think that in this brief introduction I should discuss separately the climate and exceptional hospitality accorded to the general by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The talks lasted 3 hours and 38 minutes. They took place among a very narrow circle of people at Chequers, the prime minister's residence outside London. Mr Denis Thatcher also attended the breakfast. I think this gave the event a kind of "domestic" atmosphere.

One more detail which we Poles consider very significant. The talks preceding the breakfast took place in the room in which Winston Churchill wrote all his major wartime speeches. I do not know the plan of Chequers, but I am sure another representational room could have been found in which to hold the talks. Therefore, we value this beautiful premeditated gesture.

As you surely know, the documents I mentioned still require detailed analysis. However, I am certain that the results of the talks can be described as a success, as the first real breakthrough in Poland's relations with the West in this sphere. This sphere is, after all, the substance of great international relations. So far, we have mainly heard kind words of praise, but these words have the same properties as air—they are freely accessible and cost nothing.

From now on, we are entitled to talk about real progress.

I will conclude with a thought that is only indirectly related to the results of the general's visit, but which concerns us more. As we know, most Western offers are conditional upon the implementation of the IMF regulatory program. Although I am no economist, I know what a regulatory program is. It is enough to take a look at a map of the world and mark in red all the countries where such a program has begun to be implemented. In any case, there is no alternative.

I have no right to quote directly the expressions that were used, but I can assure you that the Western side has illustrated its intention of making this regulatory program, in other words mainly a further pro-market orientation of our economy, proceed as far as possible, with the least cost to Poland.

So much for my introduction. I am at your service as far as questions related to the subject of my speech are concerned. I do not have much time.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Colonel, is it true that the return of General Wladyslaw Sikorski's ashes was not discussed during this visit? Do you not feel that the changes in Poland are bringing forward the day when Poles in England will agree to a return of these ashes to Poland?

Lt Col Wieslaw Gornicki: This subject was not discussed. It was mentioned, but in a different context. Let me remind you that this was a working visit, devoted almost exclusively to bilateral relations. W. Jaruzelski spoke at length about the political situation in Poland. The prime minister was interested in the general's views on the further development of events in Poland.

It seems to me that the stance of the Polish Government and that of the Catholic Church in Poland, which is completely unequivocal, plus the wishes of the absolute majority of Polish society, possess greater moral weight than the antiquated and rusty objection of a narrow group of people living abroad.

Konstanty Gebert, "Solidarity" Press: During his visit to England, the State Council chairman said that, if the course of events in Poland were to proceed in an uncontrolled fashion, a situation similar to the one in China could develop. What exactly did Gen Jaruzelski have in mind, and under what circumstances would it be conceivable that unarmed members of the population would be massacred by the army in Poland?

Lt Col Gornicki: First, the general said nothing of the kind. During one of his interviews, a question that was indeed formulated in this way was put to him. However, I can assure you that he certainly gave no such answer. There is no basis for charging that the State Council chairman wanted to frighten anyone by citing China. However, there is no system in the world that can protect everyone against everything. We were in Belgium on Friday, and on Sunday fierce clashes took place there.

John Daniszewski, AP: Could you expand on the information that has been provided on the State Council decision concerning Sunday's second round of the elections without the participation of those national list candidates who did not get through the first stage of the elections? Do you not think that the absence of such high-ranking party and state officials could impair the functioning of the Sejm?

Lt Col Gornicki: I am sorry that your question was so long, because my answer has to be very short. I am not authorized to discuss anything at today's news conference other than the State Council chairman's visits to Belgium and Great Britain.

Krzysztof Leski, GAZETA WYBORCZA: I would also like to ask about something that is not connected with the two visits paid by Gen Jaruzelski, the State Council chairman. Should I wait with this question?

Lt Col Gornicki: I think so.

Michal Broniatowski, REUTERS: I think that I should perhaps wait with my question, but I will put it to you anyway. Could you tell us what Gen Jaruzelski's plans are in connection with the meeting of the National Assembly that is expected to take place soon? I am interested in the question of the presidency.

Lt Col Gornicki: That is the one question not connected with the visit that I can answer. Gen Jaruzelski has still not made a decision on this subject.

Surender Bhutani, UNITED NEWS of INDIA: Recently, the idea of a common European home from the Urals to the Atlantic has been talked about a great deal. It is being discussed in the columns of the Western press as well as the Eastern press. Now, following the trip, do you think that you will be admitted to this house as guests or as residents?

Lt Col Gornicki: I can reply to this question in two ways. To put it briefly, it is conceivable as part of a historical process, and I stress historical process, which by its very nature requires quite a long time.

However, I can also answer this question in what are more political terms without resorting to historical philosophizing. This question largely depends on the form that Western Europe will take after 1992, and on the relative individual strengths of the main Western European countries. I am thinking of economic and political strength, as well as military strength.

There is always a discrepancy between expectations and predictions. I do not want to indulge in predictions. However, I can in theory imagine that at some point in the more distant future the process of reconciliation and accord will reach such an advanced stage that the reply to your question may be positive.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTERS: Have the authorities considered any other candidate for the presidency?

Lt Col Gornicki: I warned you at the beginning that I will only speak on the subject of the visit.

Carlos Gonzales, Dominican press: Colonel, you have said that the economic talks held by the chairman of the State Council were linked to the possibility of implementing the International Monetary Fund's regulatory program. Can you give an estimate of the social cost, as a percentage, that this program will entail?

Lt Col Wieslaw Gornicki: I fear that at this stage nobody in Poland, including myself, can give an answer to this question. I used the expression that the deadlock had been broken. One could just as well have said that a steel chain had been broken. Above all, I was thinking of the fact that all our previous negotiations with the Paris Club ended with us being referred to the Monetary Fund, which then referred us back to the Paris Club.

It is only after the visit to England that concrete and substantial discussions with the Monetary Fund began. In view of this, there can as yet be no talk of the percentages you have asked about. I do not want to give the impression that a veritable manna from heaven, a flood of money, is about to descend on Poland. We do not anticipate anything like that. During his lecture in Brussels, Gen Jaruzelski stated that we accepted the truth of the maxim "first help yourself, before you seek help from elsewhere."

The only concrete offer of money, which we value highly, is the 25 million pounds for the training of Polish managers, which testifies to the farsightedness of the British Government and Mrs Thatcher personally.

Why should this be important? As you know, this is not a great sum in comparison with our needs, but we value this gesture very highly, for if we were to calculate the value of the pound sterling into other Western European currencies, one could draw interesting political comparisons from this relatively small sum. Neither is this sum of money a granting of credit, but seemingly an outright gift from the British Government with a very specific aim.

However, the negotiations concerning the postponing of repayments for 1989, a matter which is crucial for Poland, are still to come. I think that the approximate answer to your question will come in a couple of months.

Adam Wysocki, RADIO POLONIA: Colonel, you said at the beginning that there has been a breakthrough in the way the West views economic relations with Poland. My question is, does this also include Polish-FRG relations?

Lt Col Wieslaw Gornicki: No, it does not.

TYGODNIK POLSKI: Colonel, I suppose that during Gen Jaruzelski's visit to Belgium and Great Britain, part of the talks must have turned to the results of the first round of the elections in Poland. What was the reaction of the respective leaders to this result, and what was their evaluation of it? Could you tell us something about this, or was nothing said on this matter?

Lt Col Wieslaw Gornicki: I must consider carefully how best to express this. I participated in the discussions, but it is not the done thing to quote politicians publicly without their permission.

I can in all certainty state that in both capital cities three points were self-evident.

First; the high esteem for Gen Jaruzelski for his consequent action, affirmed during the first half of this year, beginning with the Central Committee's 10th plenum. I think that the foreign ministries of the two countries observed the situation in Poland very closely and informed their leaders accordingly. They were very well briefed on the current Polish situation.

Second; some apprehension was also apparent, and I think that Poland and other socialist states, as well as Britain and Belgium, all share this feeling, namely, what will be the political and constitutional consequence of this result?

In any case, I did not observe any tendency to overdramatize. I see nothing surprising in the apprehension shown by the Western leaders. Events in Poland always influence and will always continue to influence, for better or worse, the general European situation and, through this, East-West relations.

Third; a very marked and clear argumentation which surfaced several times in various forms and which was addressed to all Poles. I can confirm with all authority that not one word of criticism was leveled at the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. If I had to define it, I would have to use completely different words.

The lecture given at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, as you are no doubt aware, and which contained several very interesting thoughts expressed for the first time, attracted such a large audience that the lecture hall had to be changed three times. There were over 450 people present. Gen Jaruzelski received a standing ovation. All the above serves to create a certain political atmosphere, a certain climate, which I consider to be essential.

Andrea Tarquini, REPUBBLICA: I have two questions. The first one is about government changes. When do you expect them to take place, and who do you think will be the next premier? Do you think that some nonaligned person or someone from the opposition might be invited to head the next government?

Lt Col Wieslaw Gornicki: It is not my business to comment on the affairs of the government or parliament. My private views do not seem relevant here and now.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: What diplomatic visits can one expect as a result of the British-Polish visits?

Lt Col Wieslaw Gornicki: Mr Clark, the trade secretary, will visit Poland in a few weeks time. I think contacts at the so-called intermediate and higher level will be intensified. As far as the contacts between the State Council chairman and prime minister are concerned, they are already frequent enough when one considers the past 50 years. Mrs Thatcher visited us in November, and the two leaders talked to each other again at the beginning of June. If you mean the entire sphere of diplomatic-trade activity, I think this is going to be a common phenomenon soon.

Next, Zbyslaw Rykowski, government deputy spokesman, answered the journalists' questions.

Matti Hoviseppa, Finland: I have two questions. Can you confirm whether the ruling coalition wants to move forward the presidential elections so that they take place soon after the parliamentary elections, so that the new president may receive George Bush in July?

Second; in the television news on Sunday, Jerzy Urban said that, in accordance with the "roundtable" decisions, the president should be elected from among members of the ruling party. In today's GAZETA WYBORCZA, Janusz Onyszkiewicz denies that the "roundtable" reached such an agreement. Could you comment?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: To answer your first question, an exact schedule of parliamentary work has not been established yet.

To answer your second question, every single "roundtable" accord was concluded openly and has been publicized. The accords concerning the structure of state authorities constitute one whole, which is meant to ensure stabilization during an evolutionary path of democratization. In this whole, an important place is occupied by the presidency. Creating this office was not questioned. The office of president has been defined in the "roundtable" accords as that factor which is to ensure state stability. The amended Constitution expounds upon this principle. The political nature of the presidency derives from this whole political structure, as it were.

Disa Hastad, DAGENS NYHETER: Premier Rakowski said that he would not run in the second round of the Sejm elections. I would like to know how many national list candidates who failed in the first round have also reached this decision, and what effect this might have on the work of the Sejm and on the Sejm's influence over the government.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: No one on the national list who did not obtain the required majority of votes will run in the second round, not even if he obtained 1 million votes.

Konstanty Gebert, "Solidarity" press: I have two questions in connection with Gorbachev's visit to Bonn.

First, Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union might accept the major Soviet and American forces reductions suggested by President Bush. What is the Polish Government's attitude toward this? Would the government prefer reductions in the rear of Soviet forces instead of to GDR forces, which would mean withdrawing many Soviet forces from Poland, or will the government insist on equal cuts wherever Soviet forces are stationed?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: You must realize that this is not a question for me to answer.

Konstanty Gebert, "Solidarity" Press: Then to whom should I address it?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Warsaw Pact defense policy is the subject of joint coalition decisions. These decisions are made at the appropriate level of the Warsaw Pact Member State Advisory Committee.

Konstanty Gebert, "Solidarity" Press: Thank you, I will withdraw my second question in that case.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: I would like to return to the subject of Sunday's [11 June] statement by Minister Urban. Minister Urban clearly said that the "roundtable" agreement states that the president is to be a member of the PZPR. Is that not what he said? Why was the "Solidarity" statement correcting this not published?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The "Solidarity" statement was withheld, the statement was withheld from being released on television. However, as far as the essence of the "roundtable" is concerned, I have answered the question.

Carlos Gonzales, Dominican Press: You said that all the "roundtable" agreements were made in the open. Mr Onyszkiewicz says that no agreements on the subject of the presidency were concluded at the "roundtable." However, we all know that Magdalenka was in addition to the "roundtable." At a "Solidarity" press conference that took place during the "roundtable," Mr Bujak said that the government-coalition side and the "Solidarity"-opposition side were concluding some verbal agreements at Magdalenka and that the guarantor for them was to be the only side that had the right to write down the agreements, that is, the Episcopate. Were yesterday's [12 June] talks between Archbishop Dabrowski and General Kiszczak in some way connected with this matter?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I repeat that all the "roundtable" decisions were made in an open manner, one can say that they were made in front of the television cameras, and in groups numbering several dozen and several hundred people.

The so-called Magdalenka institution, which turned into the so-called Consultative Commission, is an institution that is to resolve conflicts and find ways out of difficult situations, since these are inevitable in a process of this kind.

The conversation between Archbishop Dabrowski and Gen Kiszczak is discussed in the communique that was issued following it.

Krzysztof Leski, GAZETA WYBORCZA: I have two questions. My first is a repetition of a recent question, to which I heard the reply: Why was Janusz Onyszkiewicz's correction concerning Minister Urban's statement removed?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: It was not removed, but only withheld. One can expect a reply to the statement.

Krzysztof Leski, GAZETA WYBORCZA: But not the statement that was removed, I am sorry, I mean withheld.

My second question is do you think it is right that the governing coalition which, according to the will of the electorate as expressed in free elections to the Senate, did not to obtain one Senate seat should put forward a candidate for the presidency?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Let me read you a certain passage from the "roundtable" decisions.

"Both sides firmly believe that the essential reforms of the state should be instituted in an evolutionary way in accordance with the national raison d'etat. The evolutionary realization of change could be threatened by action that is too radical or by the actions of conservative opponents of reform. It is also a question of the security of the state at this exceptionally important moment in the life of our people, and of the security of every Polish home."

Marian Kafarski, AFP: Lately, we have been witnessing an improvement in Franco-Polish relations. President Francois Mitterrand will soon arrive in Warsaw. Could you comment on this visit? What exactly does the Polish Government expect from it?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The official visit by the French president is going to be an important event. After many years, Poland is being visited by the leader of a country that is joined to us by many centuries of historic and cultural ties; a country with which we share joint interests, regardless of various historical turning points. Let me add that warm bonds united our societies, our cultures, and the citizens of our countries.

We expect the visit to supply a significant new stimulus to the development of comprehensive cooperation between Paris and Warsaw, whilst the accords and agreements concluded during the visit will provide substance to the joint decisions and prospects of joint activity in spheres that are important to both countries.

We attach particular importance to economic and financial issues. The talks will certainly deal with the broad spectrum of international affairs, with particular reference to the European situation. It is obvious that our two countries are interested in tangible progress along the road to constructive and secure all-European cooperation, if only because of their situation and history. In this sense, the visit will also be significant for East-West relations.

The French president will be received by the Polish authorities and society with respect and hospitality, as a distinguished statesman and representative of a people with whom our people have always been friendly. I can say that the signing of the following agreements is expected: on a restructuring of debts for the years 1986-88, on youth exchanges, on cooperation in environmental protection, and on cooperation in training the managerial cadres of enterprises.

John Daniszewski. AP: I would like to repeat the question I asked Colonel Gornicki earlier, to which I received no reply. First, what will be the effect of the situation where none of the people on the national election list have been voted to the Sejm? Will this have a bearing on their chances of further participation in the government?

Second, what impact on the Sejm itself, on the functioning of this institution, will a complete absence of senior PZPR members and other key figures have?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Of course, it is bad that there will be a complete absence of key representatives of the reformist coalition forces, those people who were crossed off the national list. One can expect that, for the second round of the election, new people will be nominated who have an equally firm pro-reformist countenance.

Janusz Atlas, INTERPRESS: I am interested in knowing if they will be able to join the government.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Yes. Of course, that will depend on the ratio between the political forces that make up the government, on the composition of parliament, and on their own personal role.

Janusz Atlas: Why are the names of the candidates for the 33 unfilled seats for the second round still not known?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: They should be announced by tomorrow. In any case, I think they should be communicated to the electoral commissions within the next few hours.

Robert Lusnia, "Solidarity" press: Just one question. Could you tell us the composition and powers of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Please ask the spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense.

Renate Marsch, DPA: I would like to return to Urban's declaration. Urban said that one should expect Gen Jaruzelski to run for president. Yet Colonel Gornicki tells us that Gen Jaruzelski has still not reached a final decision. So whom are we to believe?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Minister Urban referred to an earlier television statement by Professor Reykowski whereby the party is considering nominating Gen Jaruzelski for this post.

Carlos Gonzales, Dominican press: Does this mean that Mr Reykowski will lead the "roundtable" reform faction in parliament, or will he simply be chosen as a candidate?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: One can expect people like Prof Reykowski to stand for election.

Krzysztof Wolicki, "Solidarity" press: I would like Mr Rykowski to comment on something that Minister Kwasniewski said on Saturday [10 June] and which was published in the press on Monday [12 June]: "You cannot mess about with society. You cannot change the rules of the game once you have started playing. You will not get people to accept that."

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Unfortunately, I am not familiar with that statement.

Krzysztof Wolicki: That is surprising. It was made at a meeting of the Polish Soccer League in connection with changes to the rules governing play-offs, and those present did not hear it.

Appelbaum [no first name given], THE ECONOMIST: People such as Mr Jastrzebski and Mr Miller were not on the national list during the first round of the election, but stood for election to the Senate and lost. Can they now stand in the second round for the 33 vacant seats?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: In accordance with the electoral code, those who stood for election to the Senate cannot stand for election to the Sejm and vice versa.

Michal Broniatowski, REUTERS: My question is: If Gen Jaruzelski is not a candidate, will there be another candidate? This will have to be decided shortly, and surely some kind of election campaign has to be conducted?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Please let the party worry about that. It is still too soon to even speculate about this matter.

Marcin Gugulski, "Solidarity" press: According to information that we have received from INTERPRESS, of the 120 joint ventures, 50 are based on West German capital, those based on British capital are in single figures, and there is no mention at all of France. However, we have been told here that relations with France are improving, that we enjoy good relations with Great Britain, but that there has been no breakthrough in relations with the FRG. Do you not perceive a certain contradiction between economic and financial relations, on the one hand, and political declarations on the other?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: President Mitterrand will be accompanied on his visit to Poland by a group of industrialists who, as far as I know, have serious intentions regarding the establishment of cooperation. Similar declarations are being received from Great Britain. It seems to me that this improvement in relations will yield real economic benefits, including benefits in the form of joint enterprises.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: Concerning your previous answer, do you think that the election of the president is solely an internal party matter?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: No, I do not think so. However, you will agree that the party has a right to nominate its candidate for the office of president.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: Could you tell us when the National Assembly will meet? Will it meet before the end of this month?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I do not know about that. I can only tell you what the law states, that is, the Sejm must meet no later than 2 months after the elections, that is, following this coming Sunday [18 June]. The Sejm marshal has to convene the National Assembly within 2 months at the latest. I will read you exactly what the Constitution states:

"The Sejm marshal is to convene the National Assembly within 2 months of the final day of the elections." These are the limitations imposed by the provisions of the Constitution, which does not, of course, mean that this may not occur earlier.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: I am sorry. I am familiar with the rules. I was only asking whether the National Assembly will meet before the end of the month?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I have no information on the dates.

Yousef Mah'd, WAFA Palestinian Agency: The Kuwaiti minister of oil production was due to visit Poland, and my question is: Did he come, and what was discussed? If he did not come, when is he due to visit?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Please refer to the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Did the comments Minister Urban made on Sunday aim to authenticate the government coalition at this time, and just before the run-up to the second round of the elections? "Solidarity" will undoubtedly demand that this statement be withdrawn from publication because news of it has already spread, and it is common knowledge whom it is that the people trust.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: It seems to me that we have entered a stage of political evolution and formation of new democratic relationships where nothing will be smooth. The great democracies have shaped their institutions and conventions over many dozens of years. We, on the other hand, are only beginning to build these, and what is more, we are building from the top, that is to say, from parliament downward. Various clashes, moves, and misunderstandings will be unavoidable. The most important thing is that there should be means of preventing these clashes and, should they occur, ways to eliminate them. I assure you that a long road awaits us, a road on which an event that only a month ago was an unusual phenomenon, will in time become everyday practice. There will be disputes, there will be an exchange of views, and there will be conflicts, for such is the nature of the game in pluralism. In an unformed democracy such as ours, this is bound to happen even more frequently. In connection with this, I would warn against undue interference in this natural process, and against unduly attributing a lasting meaning to something which is by its very nature transient.

Andrzej Jankowski, "Solidarity" press: With reference to what you have just said, that the process of democratization should not be obstructed, does that mean that the statement made by Janusz Onyszkiewicz and delivered to PAP yesterday will be published in the very near future?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I cannot speak on behalf of the television authorities, but I am optimistic that it will.

'Dynamic' Development Strategy Reviewed

AU1906192889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1636 GMT 19 Jun 89

["A Dynamic Production Forces Development Strategy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 19/6/1989—Since the Ninth RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress (1965) Romania has seen unparalleled socioeconomic development, turning from a poorly developed country to a modern industrial-agrarian one and having the prospects to join the economically medium-developed countries pretty soon.

Owing to intense efforts materialized in the earmarking of a considerable part of the national income for development as well as to a coherent economic policy of steadily modernizing the productive mechanism, quite a remarkable dynamics has been achieved with the main economic indicators, even in the world system of reference. Over this lapse of time, the average annual growth rate stood at 9.2 percent with industrial production, 4.2 percent with the overall agricultural production and 9.8 percent with foreign trade. The total national income increased at an average annual rate of 7.5 percent, while the per capita one of 6.6 percent, topping 35,000 lei (about 3,700 dollars at a non-commercial rate of this currency) as compared to 7.4 thousand lei in 1965. [sentence as received]

As regards the steel, cement, tractor, truck, freight cars, chemical fertilizers, plastics, synthetic rubber, refrigerator, television and radio receivers, fabrics and footwear production, Romania reached or even topped the levels attained in the countries with long-standing industrial traditions. Moreover, Romania is on a par with medium-developed countries in some important domains like the per capita energy consumption, the per capita value added to industry, the non-agricultural population, the number of physicians in 10,000 inhabitants, youths' training in high schools, and life expectancy.

These achievements are an outcome of the strategy of developing a powerful apparatus of reproduction of the means of production needed for socioeconomic development and an efficient participation in the world economic exchanges: In the last four five-year plan periods (1966-1985), Romania put into operation more than 8,200 industrial and farming units, while the volume of fixed assets grew from nearly 500 to roughly 3,200 billion lei. Now, the Romanian industry turns out the 1965 production on only 55 days, and its share in the formation of the national income rose from 48.9 percent to over 60 percent. The top branches and sub-branches intensely developed. The machine-building industry, a branch which strongly bears on the whole economy, meets 90 percent the requirements for complex machinery, equipment, installations to carry out the new investment projects and modernize the existing production units. Reflecting the essential changes occurred in the structure of this industry, over 1965-1985 the value of the production of automation means, computer technology, electrical engineering and electronics grew some 70 times, while that of fine mechanics and optics 50 times or so. In the same interval, the spectacular development of the chemical industry led to a growing share of this branch in the total industrial production from 6.7 percent to 10 percent, by developing with priority the fine-synthesis and small-tonnage production.

The development of industry as a leading branch of the economy went hand in hand with the intensive growth of agriculture that, in turn, benefited by huge investment, more particularly for irrigations, which made its overall production double.

Great importance was attached to the growing role of science in socioeconomic development, its transformation into a genuine production force. The funds allotted to science and technology were eight times larger in 1976-1980 from 1961-1965, and twice bigger in 1981-1985 from the previous five-year interval. The general scientific research work was essentially reorganized by unitarily coordinating the existing potential (more than 200 scientific research institutes and centres, plus some 100 agricultural research stations) and by channeling researches toward meeting the major demands of the economy.

On the investment policy plane, the current orientations which refer especially to the intensive growth of the economy reflect in the changing ratio between the funds earmarked for the building of new units and those for development, modernization and reequipment. The latter's tendency to grow shows in the fact that, whereas over 1976-1980 the implementation of the investment programmes led to the putting into operation of more than 2,200 new production units, in 1981-1985 the investment funds materialized in some 1,500 new production units and about 1,100 updated units.

In the current five-year plan period (1986-1990), a capital construction programme worth 1,200 billion lei is envisaged to be implemented. Upwards of 840 billion lei of the total are allotted to industry, more particularly to the power and extractive industries. In the processing industry, investments are streamlined toward completing the projects begun in the past five-year interval and toward modernizing the existing units. All in all, nearly 900 major production units will be put on stream over this lapse of time. In 1990 the fixed assets extant in the national economy will sum up 3,800 billion lei.

Development of Computer Industry Reviewed

AU1606122989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1207 GMT 16 Jun 89

["Romania: The Computer Industry"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 16/6/1989—In the short span of two decades or so, Romania has developed a powerful computer industry (that can make computers, peripherals, industrial electronic measuring equipment, electronic auxiliaries, kinescopes, microelectronic parts—sited in Bucharest's Pipera district, as well as a ferrite plant at Urziceni and a memory-making unit at Timisoara) and an impressive research potential in computer and information institutes, electronics research institutes, electronics auxiliary research centres and others. Under the trademark "Felix," Bucharest's computer enterprise launched the first classes of electronic computers in the early seventies—Felix 32 and Felix 256—as well as the electronic invoicing and accounting machines FC 15 and FC 30. Those early types of computers were made through international cooperation under a French license. With the passage of time, the industry gained experience and made those products on its own. The research design and production potential, the high professional qualifications of the work force trained in a specially developed higher learning unit constantly increased the performance of the Romanian products. Eventually a class of medium-power computers was designed and made—Felix 512, Felix 1024, and the electronic invoicing and accounting systems FC 16, FC 64, FC 128, FC 1000.

In answer to the new demands of the Romanian economy and the world market, a class of large-memory computer equipment was developed by Romanian experts in the eighties.

Felix 5000 was intended to serve the creation of databanks in large enterprises in various fields, in step with the widespread uses of information science in modern society. Of Romanian design are also the minicomputer families Coral and Independent that operate at high speeds and have an easy-of-access memory. Coral 4021 and Coral 8730, and Independent 102 F/4m and Independent 106 are modern computers—modular and compact and providing multiple connections to up to 16 independent users—that can be used in computer aided design, research, and management systems. High-performance speciality microcomputers M 118, CD 80, CUB Z, HC 85, CCE for the management of economic processes, Spot 83 for the management of industrial processes and the IBM-compatible personal computer Felix PC were developed along with peripherals for the alfanumerical and plotting videoterminals VDT 52 SA, VDT 52 SB, VDT 232, VDT 125, etc. Which moreover can be used in computer aided manufacturing and computer aided engineering systems.

The steady concern of Romanian specialists with production renewal shows in the fact that 80 percent of the national production of computers in 1988 was new. The performance of the Romanian computer technology and its reliability are the key to a growing export: In 1988 exports were 32.2 percent up on 1987 band 76.6 percent up on 1986.

The Romanian computer technology is exported to many countries including China, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, the USSR, Poland where a highly competent service is also supplied.

Interview With Civil Aviation Chief Reported

AU1706133689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1119 GMT 17 Jun 89

["Romania's Civil Aviation and its Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/6/1989—The development and modernization of Romanian aviation in the past decades is comparable to nothing before, said the head of Romania's Civil Aviation Department, Dumitru Puiu, in an article published not long ago. In 1954 when the Tarom air company was established the total length of the airways was a mere 6,259 km, now it is more than 120,000 km. It operates regular passenger and freight flights to 38 big cities around the world, and charter flights to more than 400 destinations in remote parts of the globe.

Since the Ninth RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress, the deputy minister went on, much has been invested in civil aviation the fleet of which was enlarged by over 70 airplanes of various kinds for passenger transport, as well as utility aircraft. A number of airfields were modernized—those at Tirgu Mures, Satu Mare, Cluj-Napoca, Suceava, Baia Mare—and that at Oradea is so now. Romania has three international airports—Mihai Kogalniceanu at Constanta, another at Timisoara, and Bucharest's Otopeni where a new runway with ROMBAL [as received] lighting equipment of Romanian design and make has just been completed, work is at an advanced stage for the extension of the airport's traffic capacity to meet the growing demands.

Air transport could develop as well as modernize also as a result of the strong development of the country's aviation industry in the last two decades with ROMBAC [Romanian-British Aircraft Corporation type of airplane] standing out among the various classes of aircraft that it makes. Not only has air traffic developed, but also the performance of utility aviation has improved—especially in agriculture—as well as that of sports aviation, the head of the civil aviation department winded up.

Pancevski Discusses Political, Economic Reforms

LD1606092189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0032 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—After a period of indisputable results in its development, our socialist self-managing society has for some time now been going through a crisis. This indicates that the existing concept of the socioeconomic development has, objectively speaking, exhausted all its potential. For this reason the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] and other socialist forces have embarked on wide-ranging processes of outlining and translating into practice a new stage in the development of Yugoslav self-managing and democratic society with the aim of not just pulling out of the crisis but also of demarcating new development paths, which will open up prospects for far more dynamic overall social progress, i.e. for an even richer and more humane life for our working people and citizens. These apirations are best reflected in the three reforms and the specific steps we have already made in reforming the political system and, especially, in economic reform. We have also drawn up main guidelines for transforming the LCY. This was said by Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in an interview for TANJUG and KOMUNIST. This was specifically in reply to a question about current Yugoslav juncture and the three reforms on which the society has embarked.

In all these reform processes Pancevski continued, we are still at a stage of major upheaval, searching for right answers. This is inevitably accompanied by blunders, misunderstanding, and even both covert and overt resistance. The heavy burden of the present crisis and high inflation, in particular; an impoverished and divided working class and other strata of the population and thus provoked social tensions; large-scale disintegration processes in Yugoslav society; worsening intra-national relations and growing nationalism and separatism; the counterrevolution in Kosovo; confrontations and the lack of unity and the inefficiency, in general, in the economic and political system, have been hampering and complicating the reform processes. It is not true that the reforms will be possible providing these problems are solved beforehand. On the contrary, the reforms and their successful implementation will help us tackle mounting social contradictions and topical problems. I firmly believe that this is the way for removing ideological confusion and resistance.

Resistance to reform moves is prompted by attempts to preserve alienated economic and political powers from the positions of technobureaucratism, etatism, nationalism, and separatism and by the prevailing dogmatic mind and factional and monpolistic interests of certain social strata and groups. This enhances the tasks and responsibilities of the LC and all other progressive and creative forces in society to more vigorously and thoroughly search for and arrive at the answers and solutions appropriate to the current challenges. This orientation and efforts to this end by the LCY must become more evident during preparations for the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress and for the LC congresses and conferences in the republics and provinces and in the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, at the congresses themselves, and in the LC's ensuing ideological and political action. The LC has the task to promote this attitude in all segments of society with the aim of inspiring best and most progressive ideas about the most important issues concerning the system. At the same time this attitude is a prerequisite for concrete ideopolitical actions in bringing about practical positive changes and creating new and even more thorough and concrete attitudes toward reform in entire society. According to the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, there are two fundamental conditions for overcoming the present crisis.

Firstly, it is of utmost importance, Pancevski stressed, that society as a whole reaches common orientations and actions based on basic directions, goals and contents of the three reforms. Naturally, these common orientations and actions cannot result from political agreements, compromises and conceptions, but they must facilitate further implementation and deepening of our fundamental orientations regarding the development of the society. Further, they must be a manifestation of objective social trends and the laws of socialism and the modern world, so that essential new contents and directions of a new development phase of our socialist self-managing society can be defined clearly and implemented.

In that context, I am deeply convinced that it is of paramount importance that the socioeconomic system enables maximum economic use of social means, as well as a permanent and dynamic growth of the means of production, including overall social and human capacities. The sociopolitical system must be more consistent and efficient and it must ensure consistent self-managing character of social relations and their integrity; realization of working-class interests, and democratic and humanistic values; equality, brotherhood, and unity of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, and within this framework, realization of all functions of the law-governed state. The LC transformation must ensure that the LC remains the ideological and revolutionary vanguard of the working class, and that it together with the working class continues to be a cohesive force of Yugoslav society.

The second condition, according to Pancevski, is a consistent implementation of the role of the united and strong Yugoslav federation, which would be a framework for realization of our joint and overall progressive tendencies and interests. Yugoslavia as a federative and equal socialist community is the true and the only condtion for a survival, identity and equality of all our nations and nationalities, their material, political, cultural, and spiritual being and prosperity. These aspirations and interests of our nations and nationalities can be ensured only in a stable, united, strong, independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia based on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles and Tito's vision cannot be negation of sovereignty of Yugoslav nations, their national identity and overall material and spiritual development. Socialist, self-managing, and federative Yugoslavia is the basis, framework, and factor that enabled consistent realization and expression of centuries-long aspirations and struggles of each our nation for sovereignty, statehood, national affirmation, material, and spiritual prosperity. For that reason, such a Yugoslavia had been and remains the essential condition for realization of aspirations to and interests for a joint life and safe future of all the nations and nationalities.

Our experience of history teaches us that, within the framework of social relations, deviations from the fundamental principles and orientations, upon which the Yugoslav federation is based, either from the nationalist-separatist or centralist-unitarist positions, cause enormous and extremly grave political, economic and social consequences affecting all our nations and nationalities and each worker and citizen in our country.

It is therefore quite logical to ask, Pancevski stressed, who sees a socialist, self-managing, federal,independent, strong and united Yugoslavia as an inconvenience? Forces and tendencies which have, as their aim, the disintegration of Yugoslavia, divisions in it, autarky, confrontations, open confederal and even separatist ideas in numerous variations, directly negate the genuine interests of our broadest masses and of Yugoslavia's working class. They can also be seen as direct negations of the social and economic laws which govern integrations increasingly present and promoted on the world scale as an imperative for the dynamic, technical-technological, economic and intellectual development of every society and as in direct opposition to general humanistic and cultural aspirations and tendencies. It is quite clear that efforts to this effect by certain forces are directed primarily against the interests of their own nation and the working class, and are, in their nature, anti-development and anti-humanistic.

Growing opportunism, conformism, vacillations, and various attempts to distort the nature and importance of the issues I talked about confront all the LC organizations and organs, all political and social leaderships in the country and all progressive forces in society with the very responsible task of countering these phenomena and their proponents and of heightening their exceptionally topical political and enormous historic responsibility for the fate of this country. All these crucial issues will serve as a means of testing politically and reiterating the legitimacy, competence and responsibility of each individual, each social and political entity. No compromise will be made over this with anyone now or in future. For the LC has all this but must find even more strength since this is the position and historical orientation of the majority of our nations and nationalites and of Yugoslavia's working class. We will therefore develop and further safeguard all the achievements of our socialist revolution and our values by, primarily, new democratic and progressive moves.

Asked about the characteristics of the new socioeconomic system, Milan Pancevski stressed that there already exist certain systemic prerequisites for a reform in the economic system based on greater observance of economic and market laws in business dealings. There is still a great deal to do in this sphere. The very orientation to market economy imposes certain solutions crucial for the successful functioning of the economic system. In the context of the relationship between the economic system and the nature of the Yugoslav federation future reforms must be geared toward securing: a uniform economic system; coordination in socioeconomic reproduction; a common Yugoslav market; independence for economic entities and their economic integration on the entire Yugoslav territory; unhindered circulation of socially owned capital, labor force and goods; greater technical and technological pooling and concentration in the sphere of science; more efficient efforts to stimulate and speed up the development of economically insufficiently developed areas of the country; and our country's participation in the international division of labor and its trends in the world. We must not lag behind the achievements of the world today or neglect the achievements of our socialist self-management. All this calls for a macroeconomic policy and plans for the country's overall socioeconomic development under market economy. This inevitably implies certain functions for the federation and mechanisms for their efficient execution. With justification the issues are being made topical of the federation's powers in the sphere of taxation and monetary policy; of providing conditions for the wider integration in the sphere science and the need to treat it as a prime production force; and of its functions in ecological protection.

These are the imperatives of economic logic in general, Pancevski continued, and particularly of the market economy, and not the expression of some kind of arbitrary political projections. Without all this there can be no unified economic reproduction or integral market; we cannot ensure the efficiency of the economy and the greater production of material goods as a condition for a better quality and richer life for our people; we cannot overcome inflation as one of the greatest problems; we cannot eliminate the roots of autarky, particularism and nationalism; we cannot ensure the more efficient integration of the Yugoslav economy into European and world trends. This is the only way to ensure objective conditions for an economic, self-managing, and working-class synthesis of general Yugoslav interests. However, it is, in practice, impossible and absurd to expect more effective results in this sphere if these goals in our development policy do not also find a corresponding basis in the sphere of the overall social and political superstructure and in this context, also in the character, role and functions of the Yugoslav federation.

Pointing to some of the most important strategic directions in the reform of our political system, Pancevski stressed that the basic goals must above all be the essential democratization and ensuring of an integral self-managing and working-class basis for society. To this end we must radically de-emphasize etatism and carry on a debureaucratisation of socioeconomic and political relations. In the political system itself it is vital to radically and decisively free ourselves of accumulated normativism and institutionalism. In this context it is of exceptionally great importance that an essential synthesis should be created between what is self-management and democracy and what, in contemporary historical conditions, is the role of the state with all its attributes. On this basis we can and must ensure an authentic and far more profound socialist self-managing democracy as well as the full effectiveness and competence of all institutions of the political system, and in particular of the law-governed state to preserve the basic social values and realize the rights, freedoms, and duties of people and citizens.

In the period remaining until the LC congress, the ideopolitical essence of the changes in the political system will be examined. It is undeniable that all other socialist forces in society should also be engaged in this.

Explaining the essence of self-managing political pluralism, the head of the Yugoslav party stressed that without a clear definition and implementation of everything which has gone before, self-managing political pluralism cannot produce any more vital political and democratic achievements and results and can only have a marginal role, importance, and influence. Self-managing political pluralism only has a purpose if it directly serves to advance and deepen the socialist self-managing production relationship and the basis of our political system. If it is expressed and realized to this end, then it can have a reciprocal effect on the development of the basic values of our system, in particular by placing all creative and progressive social forces in an active and creative position for the further development of socialist self-management and a self-managing society. However, if political pluralism is understood and implemented as an expression and means in the struggle to overcome the monopoly over the surplus of production and, on this basis, in the struggle for gaining actual economic and political power, then objectively it cannot survive in today's or in the future historical political socialist scene. It would rather be an expression and desire for different production and political relations which are not characteristic of the basis of our self-managing society and the Yugoslav community. This stance does not stem from some kind of rigid and predetermined ideopolitical commitment, but from the simple fact that the true perspective for our society and every socialist society is the opening up of a process which will overcome the basic socio-economic contradiction of the class society: that the labor surplus should be controlled by the social and class subject which produces it, and in our conditions this is the working class of Yugoslavia as it is currently perceived.

Answering the question about the role of the federation in the reform of the political system, Milan Pancevski said that strategic directions of the reform of the political system must provide a basis for efforts aimed at further developing the concept and role of the Yugoslav federation. We must achieve three [as heard] goals in this area: first, to ensure a further affirmation and strengthening of the AVNOJ principles of the Yugoslav federation as permanent postulates understood in a historical and developmental sense; second, to further develop the concept of the Yugoslav federation so that new elements of a modern society and state are built into it; third, to develop a market economy and integration processes in world relations, as well as general cultural and democratic achievements; third, [as heard] to overcome through criticism all conceptions, relations, and solutions regarding definition and concrete functioning of the Yugoslav federation, which are in essence deviations from the character of our federation and which have frequently caused instability in the country.

Proceeding from all this, he stressed, our federation must be built in a way in which it will ensure full equality of nations and nationalities, greater accountability of republics and provinces for development of Yugoslavia as a whole, efficient and consistent macro-economic operations and unified functioning of the political system, protection of fundamental human rights and liberties, protection of integrity, sovereignty, and independence of our country and its very clear system of the people's defense and the Yugoslav People's Army. These changes will ensure that the federation becomes a self-managing and democratic community within which general and common interests of the working class and all working people and citizens, nations and nationalities are realized. On the other hand, it is imperative to ensure efficient functioning of the federation as an instrument of the law-governed state within its authority and commonly established policies, laws, and other regulations.

Proceeding from all this, it is indisputable that for all our nations and nationalities, the working class, and the LCY, the AVNOJ foundations of our community can be questioned neither from the point of view of nationalistic, separatistic, and unitaristic theses, from the point of view of theses about confederation, nor from the point of view of "reshaping" Yugoslavia on the basis of a special position of one or several nations and for establishing federation on the principle of majority, economic power, and the like.

LIkewise, it is hightime, Pancevski stressed, that the LC and society understand and clear up certain confusions and artificial dilemmas about the character and function of the federation, namely, efforts aimed at efficient functioning of all institutions of the political system. And in that sense, efforts aimed at efficient functioning of the federation cannot be understood as etatism, unitarism, or centralism. Those who identify efficiency of the federation with such political qualifications, essentially proceed from partial, autarchic, and feudalistic positions and interests. Efficient and strong executive function of the federation, as well as executive function of the society in general, does not mean negation of sovereignty of any nation and nationality, because their sovereignty is realized through independent republican position in determining their own development and shaping general and common interests within the framework of the federation. I believe that it is unnecessary to prove that the efficient executive function of the federation is in essence realization of sovereign will of all nations and nationalities together. Pledges which in the name of alleged unity and efficiency of the federation and some abstract general interests in essence negate the constitutional status of republics and provinces, that is, pledges which are changing the foundations of the Yugoslav federation, are unacceptable for the LCY, as well as contrary to LCY orientations.

It is essential that the LCY, Pancevksi concluded, fights energetically for federative and democratic Yugoslavia, which can only then be an independent, autonomous and active factor and participant in European and world relations and processes conceived in their totality. This is the only way in which the LC can realize its revolutionary role. The LC, through the struggle for the three reforms and for such Yugoslavia and through preserving historical continuity in the development of the society, must energetically rid itself of its own bureaucracy and monopolism in relation to the working class and society, federalization in its own organization, and ties with partial interests which assumed the importance of absolute ones. Only on such basis can the LC express and confirm itself as the ideological and political vanguard of the working class and as a legitimate political factor for the expression of the most progressive interests of all nations and nationalities, as well as a cohesive factor of the Yugoslav community.

Kucan Airs Personal Views on Phone-In Program

LD1606145189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2103 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee, was a guest today for almost 2 hours of Glas [voice], a phone-in program on Ljubljana Radio. Milan Kucan answered a number of topical questions ranging from the issue of pluralism, self-management, preparations for the congress to the Ljubljana trial, elections, links with Europe, relations within the country, the issue of language, etc. [passage omitted]

Asked about homogenization in the LC, Milan Kucan said that there are many people around who today look with nostalgia at the lost unity, i.e. a monolithic LC. However, Kucan said, the party is monolithic only to those who see it from the outside and this is not good because differences tend to be concealed and hushed up in a way which always calls for very radical moves. The differences exist today over two key issues, Kucan said: first, what kind of society, i.e. socialism do Yugoslav Communists want and what kind of Yugoslavia do we want. The answer lies in the reforms, and on this point there is an agreement in principle. However, as soon as the issue of concretizing the principles is raised, the amount of unity diminishes, Kucan said.

The reception given to Markovic in the SFRY Assembly yesterday, when in a radical and determined way he talked about the ways of extinguishing the main hotbeds of inflation, indicates that these differences are not negligible. This raises the issue of the LC's vanguard role which is not guranteeed by the Constitution, Kucan added. Its formally guaranteed leading role has done great damage to the LC itself; it has turned it into a passive LC, inactive and unwilling to fight for people's conscience and their political favor. The extent of progressiveness is today determined by the political program, Kucan added, by a specific program which the majority of people can identify themselves with and by the organization's capacity to implement that program and to mobilize people into action. In other words, the party has no program which it can implement independently of others because it does not hold the key reins of power instrumental for executing the program. [passage omitted]

Many of the questions put to Kucan referred to the relationship between Slovenia, Kosovo, and Serbia. We must admit that differences—and some of them are fundamental and crucial—do exist. If it is the interest of all of us to live together—then we must sit down and talks about these differences. We must establish which objective facts are behind our differences. Unity can be our goal, but it cannot be taken for granted and presumed without any agreement on how to build it and how to arrive at it. Dialogue is an instrument for achieving unity, Kucan thought. However, any dialogue in which I am expected beforehand to agree with the opinions of my interlocutor is pointless. [passage omitted]

Asked about Branko Greganovic's resignation, Kucan said that, in his view this is not a good thing, especially because he learned about it from the media. Kucan supposed that the resignation came as a result of one-sided and unfounded accusations against Slovenia evidently because the situation in Kosovo became topical. In Kucan's opinion, Greganovic must have had very convincing reasons for such a move. I do not think this is the beginning of the end, but it can be seen as an example of what arguments can do to us.

I do not agree with those who say that we are bowing to Milosevic, Kucan said. We must decide whether we want to live together or not. Of course, not at any price. Still, this is something that has to be discussed.

He was also asked about the celebrations to mark the 600th anniversary of the Battle at Kosovo to which, according to Kucan, the Slovene LC has not been invited. However, since the Battle at Kosovo, like the

French revolution—despite the time difference—is an event which had a profound influence of European civilization, it deserves to be celebrated not just by the Serbian people.

Taking up the issue of Branko Greganovic's resignation again, Kucan said that Slovenia could not be a scapegoat for all the conflicts in Yugoslavia and for mistakes in the policy pursued by others.

Kucan paid particular attention to the state-party relationship. I myself, have on several occasions described as impossible the situation whereby the entire country is in fear of every session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee—as was so evident before the 17th session—and when the Central Committee is surrounded by protestors so that it has to work under pressure, i.e. in a completely undemocratic atmosphere. My view is therefore that the party must be separated from the state. I firmly believe that the state has to continue to function normally and carry out its duties even when there are ideological, political, and other differences within a political organization such as the LC. Differences are quite normal for a political organization and its existence but it is quite unacceptable that these differences and confrontations are allowed directly to influence the life of society and the state. Speaking about the Slovene LC, Kucan said that this danger had been identified long ago and that efforts were made to prevent negative consequences of this, i.e to prevent a historically conditioned "marriage" between state and party. [passage omitted]

Speaking about competition facing the LC, Milan Kucan said that it had to be admitted that the LC was no longer the sole political factor. If we look at the political programs and orientations in our political arena, I would say that our political orientation is closest to that emerging within the socialist youth federation.

Asked about the "coalition" between Slovenia and Croatia, Milan Kucan said that a glance at the Yugoslav political scene shows that as a result of objective circumstances, the level of development of the economic structure, tradition, culture, etc we have many things in common with the Croatians. However, this does not mean that an alliance with comrades from Croatia alone in specific actions over issues of crucial importance for long-term solution of the Yugoslav crisis and of benefit for the entire country is adequate.

The issue of political pluralism and of different parties was also raised. In reply, Kucan said that future development would inevitably reveal the course of events. It is true that our political arena is a pluralist one and with interests-based structure. The form which this kind of pluralism can be expressed is a matter for discussion. The priority task is to use the reform of the political system to create conditions in which an individual, a citizen, can articulate its own political interests and promote in society, in which he can enter into associations with others and promote his interests in an organized way and at the same time assume responsibility for this. Our option at the moment is a nonparty form of pluralism. These are attempts at formulating associative pluralism which calls for a radical reform in the political system and in the socialist alliance. Party pluralism is not a danger, but a possibility, and we must not ignore the danger of going back [transmission interrupted; end of take not received].

Speaking about the "Ljubljana trial," Kucan said that he was advocating the same things as before and that he could not agree with criticism that nothing specific had so far been done. Our common interest was to analyze the circumstances which led to the trial and to establish why and to what extent the whole case was politicized. We then, however, realized that it would be more useful to found an authoritative, unbiased, and objective body with the task of establishing all the facts. Kucan also mentioned the initiatives instigated during the trial and afterward, which were permitted under the law and which included the initiative for pardoning the four. While the laws exist they should be observed, otherwise our society will become an arbitrary one. [passage omitted]

Asked about our integration within Europe, Milan Kucan said that we must first of all ask ourselves if we have the capacity to be in Europe, whether we can live according to its standards and criteria... "At the moment we are not and it is quite irrelevant whether there are political conditions for it or not," Kucan said. We must, however, identify our ambition to join Europe and make relevant decisions. Not all depends on us, but a great deal does. "I cannot agree at all with the claim that the Slovenes want to join Europe as lackeys. We want to be in Europe but we must do everything possible to make Europe ready to accept us and vice versa," Kucan said.

Is it realistic to expect the elections next year to be direct, held by secret ballot, general and democratic. In this respect the constitutional changes are of great importance, said Kucan. The pressure for the elections to be direct and secret is, in fact, an expression of "hunger" for democracy. We must agree, however, on whether we want assembly of presidential democracy. We must consider both democratization in the election procedure and in the nominating procedure. [passage omitted]

At the end Kucan was asked if relations between Slovenia and Serbia were "frozen." "It would be hard to find a more appropriate word than "frozen" to describe them at the official level, Kucan said. They rejected talks with us, but all contacts have not been severed. I had many good friends among the comrades from Serbia, he added, and I used to cooperate with them a great deal on the work on the document used as the platform for drawing up the resolutions of the 13th LCY congress concerning the principles to be a basis for coexistence in Serbia. We never had any problems, but the situation has now changed. Communication at the private level has declined and is no longer as friendly as it used to be. But, in my view, Kucan added, I am not the one to be blamed for this.

Kucan Discusses Role of Party, Socioeconomics

LD1706220189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jun (TANJUG)—A large meeting in Tacen near Ljubljana today formally marked the 7th decade of the foundation of the Yugoslav Communist Party (YCP) and the 50th anniversary of the consultative meeting held here in 1939. The celebration was attended by numerous veterans, members of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), and representatives of youth and others from various parts of Slovenia. Milan Kucan, president of the Slovenia League of Communists (LC) Central Committee Presidium, spoke about the role of the YCP, now the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia's development, and current socio-economic trends in Slovenia and the country as a whole. At his proposal, participants in the celebration accepted a number of conclusions related to the socio-political and economic situation in the country.

Stressing that the policy of animosity which is kept alive by opposing views at all costs is not the policy of the LC, Milan Kucan condemned "the frontrunners of the struggle against socialism who ride the waves of world anticommunism." They persistently search for "healthy forces" among the Communists, Kucan noted, and for a plague which should sweep away "the Slovene spring" and destroy the fruit of our work.

He pointed out the phenomena of "heroes" who from a safe distance "expose" the past through their behavior, proclaiming it "a cruel Bolshevik civil war." There is no hope for us if we become involved in the network of pre-war and inter-war animosity, if we initiate the process of revanchism and take advantage of the past resurgence of old divisions. Our strength and opportunity are in the future, in the ability of Slovenes and Yugoslavs to settle economic and political relations. Let us counter political intolerance in our country and among us with patience and increased dialogue."

A considerable part of Kucan's speech was devoted to, as he himself stressed, "madness; accusations without proof; cynicism; the besmirching of people and nations; the creation of the psychosis of collective and national frustration, threats, and exploitation; political manipulation of people; the media's suppression of facts" and similar phenomena which, in his opinion, "are only a preparation of the political ground for the events which should fundamentally change Yugoslavia." "We cannot accept such a discussion which does not want to be democratic," says Kucan, "because those who so far never showed any desire to convince others—through their unilateral actions to settle relations at home and prepare a platform for a Yugoslavia based exclusively on their own criteria—are now demanding to speed up the discussion." How else can we understand the demand for only those concepts with an all-Yugoslav orientation, wonders Milan Kucan replying at the same time that "in a democratic Yugoslavia, the free state of voluntarily united nations based on sovereignty and equality, the only concepts which can have the necessary integrational strength are a result of democratic and substantiated discussions. It is difficult to understand strong accusations in the federation, as regulated by the 1974 Constitution. They bother only those who think that they are affected by the policy of national equality and for this reason, instead of a community built in freedom, sovereignty, and equality of every citizen who belongs to these nation and nationalities, they demand for themselves more rights in the name of their special historic merits, their historical role and large numbers. Can the imposition of majority decision making in a multinational community by those who are the most numerous be anything else but the violation of the principle of the equality of nations, the negation of its sovereignty, and therefore its right to autonomous decision making being an inalienable and permanent right of man? We are also concerned for the fate of Yugoslavia in this crisis, for it is part of our own Slovene fate. The SFRY is our common state; we created it ourselves in voluntary democratic agreement with other nations. No one admitted us in to it and no one can chase us out of it. We will not renounce the SFRY. Hence, the question whether the proposers of the May Declaration 89 have weighed it out properly whether the Slovenes could, and if this is permissible, escape the responsibility for the future of Yugoslavia or simply surrender it to Slovene Communists."

"In present circumstances in which the multinational Yugoslavia exists it is precisely unitarism and centralism which are the most ominous misconceptions concerning development and therefore the most destructive elements or our community, claims Kucan. A Yugoslavia in which any nation were to feel its sovereignty, freedom, and equality jeopardized, or feel as if it were imprisoned, cannot be ours. Ours is only a Yugoslavia in which the successful project of socialism and social capital are efficiently managed by those who realize material and intellectual prosperity and in which its nations are guaranteed full equality and development. We will only live in such a Yugoslavia in which sovereignty is ensured, as are the permanent and inalienable right to self-orientation of all the nations and the equality of all nations and minorities—a Yugoslavia which will respect and safeguard the differences of everyone, where we will regulate common issues in a federal state according to the principle of agreement. And we will not live, Kucan went on, in a state community in which we would be subjected to political or national domination, economic exploitation, constrained forms of political, economic, cultural, and every other life."

Milan Kucan then drew attention to the vital need that solutions to the ever deepening crisis, the curbing of record inflation, and the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, as well as the elimination of severe political and conceptual conflict of interrepublican dimensions "should be sought in the recognition of the legitimacy of differences." "Realistic is only that solution which proceeds from joint interests for the overcoming of the crisis and the democratization of political decisionmaking."

Emphasizing our experiences and those of other socialist countries, Kucan drew special attention to public and work dignity and man's political influence as the main conditions for the motivation of people in the process of the successful socialist renewal. He then dwelt on disagreements over the future League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress.

"The events which are related to the next LCY Congress do not convince us of the LCY's capability to act as a cohesive factor of society through its progressive democratic concept. Hence all our reservation about this meeting and the requirements for our participation in it. Differences in views cannot be simply eliminated by outvoting. We are now convincd that it is not a question of any misunderstanding. It is a question of differences—sufficiently significant and fundamental ones. If we wish to live together, says Kucan, we need to discuss them more than ever. And even when talks are broken off there is nothing else left but talks. For this reason the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium suggested a number of initiatives for talks with party presidia of all the republics and provinces. A similar initiative of the Slovene Pesidency presented to comrades in Serbia, as he quoted, was rejected brutally and with disdain. Talks are only possible if there is interest in them. However, it is clear that the talks where one has a priori to agree with the views of the other side are superfluous. It is also clear that we do not intend to impose our views on others. We do not wish to regulate any republic according to our criteria, so let no other republic regulate Slovenia according to theirs. We all need a modern, federatively regulated Yugoslavia which would expand freedom and equality for people, nations and nationalities, guarantee a democratic, safe and peaceful life. In Kucan's opinion there is not a surplus of this anywhere in Yugoslavia."

Milan Kucan continues his speech, frequently interrupted by the stormy applause of several thousand participants in the celebration. He appeals for more understanding for a democratic dialogue in the process of future agreement-seeking on which the fate of socialism depended, he stressed. "For this reason the socialism which we will build in Yugoslavia is neither just the Slovene nor just the Serbian issue. But it is just as Slovene or Serbian as it is the issue of everyone who is fond of the SFRY. Everyone must have the opportunity to present and reaffirm in a democratic dialogue his own views on matters of common interest including on Kosovo while these are our joint issues. If these opportunities do not exist, if there is no honest, swift and objective information on events in some parts of Yugoslavia and stands adopted in this connection, as well as on the activities underway, Slovenia can for some be a duty alibi for all the failures which, despite everything, the present policy in Kosovo is going through. We can on no account agree to this. Disputes are not a way of coexistence. This is why we still wish to talk with all those who wish to talk to us. We do not intend, however, to turn our left cheek to those who hit us on our right one. We will propose no more talks to those who had rejected them. It is now necessary for us to say loudly, clearly and without beating about the bush that it is not possible to scare us by the accusation that we are allegedly separatists and destroyers of Yugoslavia."

In this way, continued Kucan, they would like to put us in such a position that we would have to reply to every lie and slander thereby exhausting our forces which we need more than ever before in our efforts to achieve the democratic renewal of our life. It would be dishonest to prove that democratic movements in Slovenia are not false and even Fascist. Or else that we are not, for instance, the lackeys of Europe or "thunderers" who are imagining that the world is eagerly waiting to be made happy "in the Yugoslav way".

Concluding his wide-ranging speech, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, once again made an appeal that under the present socioeconomic conditions in Yugoslavia, we devote ourselves with all our strength to the reforms and efforts to achieve greater social wealth and democracy. "These are the conditions for more socialism. Whoever is successful in this and whoever is less bothered by the abundance of his neighbor than by his own property, his ideas will be confirmed by practice itself. This is the path that leads out of the crisis into the greater quality of life and work, into democracy and a successful SFRY open to Europe and the world. Relations between peoples are impossible other than on the basis of democracy—not a restricted democracy nor one curtailed by socialism and the danger of counterrevolution, but a democracy for everyone which we Slovene Communists understand as a democracy for socialism. It is the guarantee that socialism does not end up on the Square of Heavenly Peace," Kucan said.

"This is why we will, in a democratic way, seek common solutions with everyone who wishes to revitalize the common home—the Yugoslavia which was achieved through bloodshed," Milan Kucan concluded.

The participants in the celebrations accepted the proposal of Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium that several conclusions be adopted at the formal ceremony which relate to current sociopolitical events in Slovenia and Yugoslavia.

These conclusions are as follows:

The Slovene LC will accede to the Basic Charter of Slovenia for 1989. The Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working people has prepared the Charter. It stresses the advocacy of the further democratization of society, the right to self-determination, the sovereignty of the Slovene people, and the federation of free and equal nations.

The request is made that the Federal and Republican organs throw out of the regulations relating to the activity of the Armed Forces and the organs of internal affairs everything that threatens human rights and freedoms, and that the decrees on isolation be abolished and the consistent respect for the right to use a language and openness in judicial proceedings be ensured.

The request is made that, as in the SR of Slovenia, the death penalty be abolished everywhere in Yugoslavia.

It is proposed that the authorities in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, release from prison all political prisoners sentenced for nonviolent offenses. This would also be valid, the conclusions say, for the four people sentenced in the Ljubljana Military Court.

All members of the LC of Slovenia and Yugoslavia, as well as other statesmen who have public influence, especially in the information media, are called upon to immediately end their interrepublican feuding, bickering, and the provocation of intranational disputes in Yugoslavia.

Also supported are efforts to implement the Federal Executive Council's economic program and an initiative has been made to assist those who bear the brunt of the transition to a market economy.

Serbian Minister Speaks to Foreign Journalists

LD1906223189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2047 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 19 (TANJUG)—The human rights of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo are not threatened in any way, and claims that they will no longer be represented in the institutions of this province, which is part of the Republic of Serbia, and in the Yugoslav leadership are totally groundless, Serbian External Relations Secretary Aleksandar Prlja said here on Monday.

At a meeting with foreign reporters accreditted in Belgrade, Prlja said that the problem of human rights in Kosovo is being settled within the framework of Yugoslavia's tolerant approach to the issue as a whole. He repeated that the number of persons held in isolation in Kosovo after the introduction of special measures there in late February and an armed rebellion of ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists in March was reduced from 230 to about 40. The investigation will be completed by autumn, and after that it will be determined against whom the charges will be raised, Prlja said.

Some of the measures taken in Kosovo may have been unexpected, but they are certainly adequate in view of the depth and complexity of the crisis in the province, and do not contravene Yugoslav laws and regulations, he added.

Recalling that it is not ethnic Albanians that are threatened in Kosovo, but Serbs and Montengrins who have been migrating from the province for years under the terror of ethnic Albanian separatists, he said it was regrettable that this did not interest the European Parliamentarian delegation which toured the province last month.

On economic issues, Prlja said that Serbia's approach to economic reform is not essentially different from that of the others. Serbia also opted for opening of the market, different forms of ownership, profitability and efficaciousness of enterprises. The public loan should help Serbia boost its economy, he said.

Asked by the correspondent of the Polish news agency PAP to comment on the possibility of forming an opposition in the republic, Prlja said that the Serbian leadership currently enjoys broad support for the launched reforms and democratization, and that time will show whether the forming of a political oppostion is necessary.

Ethnic Albanian Describes Beatings in 'Isolation'

AU1906185289 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jun 89 p 5

[Miroslav Ivic report: "Fifty Days in Isolation"]

[Text] The bananas on which the Stari Trg miners allegedly feasted during their protest sit-in in the mines [in February] were probably the reason why two greengrocers from Stari Trg were among the several hundred of those—university professors, cultural and public workers, directors, and various leaders—against whom the measure of so-called isolation, "residence in a determined place," was applied. Private tradesman Bahri Osmani, aged 26, owns the Minatori (Miner) fruit and vegetable shop in Stari Trg. The militiamen knocked on the door of his family house in Titova Mitrovica, where he lives with his parents and two brothers, at 0500 on 28 March. My father, a miner at Stari Trg, was the first to get up to see who it was, says Bahri, who was released on 15 May and freed from any further "residence in a determined place," after 50 days of isolation. At the door of his house that morning, militiamen stood pointing their submachine guns. They had arrived in three blue vans, which already contained some of those about to "enjoy" the undetermined status of isolated people.

They rushed into the house and searched it, and when they failed to find anything they said that I should go with them, but that I would return in 5 or 10 minutes. However, these 5 to 10 minutes dragged on horribly and stretched to 50 days or 72,000 minutes that I would not wish on my worst enemy, Bahri Osmani says. Bahri was first taken to the Secretariat for Internal affairs in Titova Mitrovica.

Pristina, Leskovac, Vranje

There were two inspectors in the room to which they took me, and the second said to the ethnic Albanian inspector that he should get out. When we were left alone, he began to swear at me, threatened to kill me if I did not tell everything about how I was sending bananas and other fruit to the miners, as well as about my uncle who is in the FRG. A militiaman then entered the room where this inspector was interrogating me, and he said I should confess everything or else he would shoot me, and swore: "We would not be Communists if we did not release you once you had confessed." I said: What should I confess, I have not done anything. Then they demanded that I tell them the names of at least five demonstrators. They threatened that if I did not tell them, I would not get out alive. They asked about Vlasi and what I thought about him, what sort of man he was. I said he was good. When the inspector asked since when Vlasi had been good, I said always, but he said this was not true, because he had been good until 1981, but he had worked against Yugoslavia since.

After the interrogation in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Titova Mitrovica, we were handcuffed in pairs, my partner being a student who was covered in blood and injured, and we were taken by bus to Pristina, and the bus was parked in the prison yard. We were left the whole day in the bus, but in the evening we began to shout, asking for food. They brought us some meat paste and a slice of bread for each of us, and when we had eaten, the bus with us civilians and some militiamen armed with submachine guns set off in an unknown direction. I had a golden necklace and a ring, and I took them off and pushed them into the pocket of an ethnic Albanian militiaman whom I knew from Titova Mitrovica. We were brought to Leskovac, Bahri says. Some 20 militiamen waited for us in the prison yard there. It was dark.

A militiaman read from a list the names of those who would remain in Leskovac. These got off the bus, and the militiamen who were gathered there immediately began to beat them, mostly with sticks. They led them to a wall nearby, put their head against the wall, and hit them. I saw ethnic Albanian militiamen who came as escorts covering their eyes with their hands, Osmani says. Those of us whose names were not read out, about one half of those on the bus, were taken to Vranje. As soon as we arrived in Vranje, we met with such maltreatment that I do not think I could stand it again. As soon as the bus pulled up in the prison yard in Vranje—dawn was breaking—a large group of militiamen gathered around. I hear one say: "You have come to our celebration today." We got off the bus, and a proper avalanche of blows with sticks, feet, and fists immediately descended on everybody.

In Prison Hospital

They put us all into a small room. I remember that they counted us and there were 36 of us, but the room was only four or five square meters in size and the doors and windows were shut. The weak ones quickly lost consciousness. We could not move and we could not breathe. Finally only three or four of us, young and strong men, remained on our feet. A militiaman began to beat those of us who were still on our feet and had not lost consciousness over the heads with a stick.

Later on, they transferred us to cells, four to a cell, and from there called us to the interrogation room one by one. They ordered me to take off my clothes, and the beating began; they hit me everywhere, with everything, and in every way. A commission was visiting here in Vranje; they said it was from Yugoslav State Security.

Before this commission came and one man from each cell went for an interview, an inspector came and said that nobody must say anything, or else they would kill us. We were moved about the cells, moved from one cell to another, and we would tell each other what we had gone through. It seems that Selim Vllasi was the worst off, he was beaten most and worst. A militiaman with a bottle of brandy once came into the cell where I was, and he said he would kill us all when he had finished the bottle. He had a submachine gun and I was afraid.

From Vranje I was taken to Sabac. A supervisor met our bus there and he said that we should be good and we would have no problems. Almost everyday we were taken for interrogation. Once, during an interrogation, the inspector beat me and swore at me. At one stage he grabbed me by the shoulders and beat my head against the wall. My forehead was cut, I was covered in blood, and I do not know how, but I managed to give him a blow with my forearm. Then followed something that I thought nobody could stand. They beat me unconscious. Afterwards they fetched a doctor. They said that I had run amok. The doctor asked what was the matter with me, and cleaned my wounds with alcohol.

After 2 days they took me to Belgrade, to a prison hospital, Bahri says. There they bound my hands and feet with chains, with my hands at my back, and locked the chains with padlocks. I was alone in the room. They brought food to me. I was fed by another prisoner, who was from Kursumlija, and when he fed me, a militiaman was present in the room. I would sit in a chair and rock, and he would say that I should eat. My hands were tied at my back with chains that were drawn tight. I could not sleep. I think that I did not sleep those 5 days at all. They never untied me or let me out of the room, not even to the toilet. The prisoner that fed me brought me a bottle into which I urinated.

Question of Bananas

On the fifth day a nurse came with the intention of taking my blood. Since my hands that were tightly bound on my back with a chain were virtually stiff after these 5 days, I felt an unbearable pain. The nurse tried to take my blood, but failed, searching for the vein and stabbing with the needle, but no blood would come. She became frightened and left the room in a hurry, perhaps to see a doctor. A militiaman appeared quickly and untied me, and he even let me walk about. I was returned to Sabac on that day, to prison. It was better there, and even my father visited me. I was no longer beaten up in Sabac, but others were. They would return to the cell covered in blood, with teeth missing, or a broken arm, as was the case with Jakup Rexhepi, the other greengrocer from Titova Mitrovica.

I was questioned most about those bananas. They said they possessed a picture of me taking bananas to the mine. I said they should show it to me. I knew they could have no picture, because I was never in the mine and I never took bananas to anybody. In Sabac I was allowed to buy cigarettes. I gave some money that my father brought me and said that would like Opatija cigarettes. The militiaman said I could not have them and brought me Drina cigarettes. We were also allowed to buy newspapers, but only EKSPRES POLITIKA and VECERNJE NOVOSTI. If we asked for anything else, they said we could not have it.

And finally, I was again called on 15 May and was given something to sign. It was the order for my release from isolation. It was my second signature. The first thing I signed was on the fifth day after my arrest, when they gave me some paper to sign, some statement. We were taken to Pristina by bus, and from Pristina to Titova Mitrovica by a luxurious Renault car . Probably they had no other car available. I could not believe that I had returned home, that I had remained alive, that I was home again. This is how Bahri Osmani, aged 26, a Stari Trg tradesman selling fruit and vegetables, concludes his story. He happened to be one of the 237 persons—this is the official figure—against whom the measure of so-called isolation was implemented. It is said to be constitutional.

It is not known to Bahri whether the constitutional provision says how those who have been isolated should be treated and whether the procedure which should apply is specified. He went to see a lawyer. ("He told me that I could not gain anything, and that it is better for me not to waste time and sue, because here the rule applies that the prosecutor is the judge at the same time.") Bahri says that he no longer sells bananas in his shop, at least until he forgets what he has gone through, and he doubts that he will ever be able to erase these experiences from his memory.

Tiananmen 'Reminds' of SFRY Current Situation

AU2006085089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 89 p 2

[Mirko Klarin commentary: "Is China Near or Far Away?"]

[Text] Periodical liquidations of "counterrevolutions" in some socialist countries provided us in the past with the opportunity to arrogantly give them lessons, whereby we kept persuading ourselves and others that we have always been right and, finally, enabled us to use other people's failures and not our own successes to prove the advantages following of our "original road."

These times seem to be over now. In the current situation the number of people to whom we still can give lectures is diminishing. We can hardly continue to be complacent in our belief that our system is nevertheless less bad than others, because after what has started to happen in some socialist countries, we can no longer be certain about that either.

China has made us start thinking seriously not only about the tragic fate of its students and people, or about the future of reforms and of "socialism as a world process," but also about ourselves. We have finally started to derive the morals and to learn lessons from other people's failures and tragedies. That is certainly less pleasant than arrogantly teaching lessons, but it is also potentially more useful.

Almost none of the authors writing in the Yugoslav press failed to draw the following topical lesson from Chinese events: All reforms in socialism which remain exclusively in the sphere of the economy and leave the political system and relations untouched are condemned to failure. Deng is only the last one in the lengthy list of reformers of socialism who, either because of unpreparedness or an incapability to change the system, ended up being changed themselves by the system. Regardless of the sincerity of his original antibureaucratic convictions, by leaving the system that creates and reproduces bureaucracy intact, Deng had finally come to the point where he would either be rejected by the system (as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang were rejected) or would turn into a bureaucrat again, a negation of his own convictions and inspirations. This seems to be the "iron law" of incomplete antibureaucratic revolutions in socialism.

If we have finally learned that lesson, and it seems from everything that has recently been written and said that we have, why then all of these alarming, upsetting, and threatening warnings that China is near? Almost none of the recent dailies or weeklies did not use this title at least once, which is borrowed from an Italian film from the times when a considerable part of the Western trendy left was infected with the childhood disease [decja bolest] of Maoism.

Is China really near? Can the events of Tiananmen be repeated, in their entirety or in "a corresponding proportion," in our Student Square [in Belgrade] or Liberation Square [in Ljubljana]?

Those people who, in their honest concern, have been sounding a warning, point to certain "structural similarities of the systems," to the bureaucratic political monopoly, to the "irresistible attractiveness of the Chinese solution," to all conservatives and neo-Stalinists, including our own.... They also point to the "inclination to argue with force"; to the readiness to "defend everything that exists," and above all, power, using any means and not asking about the price; and to the attempts to present every opposite opinion and every "splitting off" from the uniform opinion as "divergence," "treason," "counterrevolution".... Finally, we heard on television last night that there were some leaders in our country who, in their time, had suggested the "tank recipe" to curb the famous "June events" [Croat name "lipanj" used for June] in Belgrade in 1968!?

However, there is another link that is no less important.

The brutality and ruthlessness of the operation of "clearing" Tiananmen Square was ensured through the preceding systematic demonization of Beijing students and their ideas and demands. Soldiers who were brought from far-off provinces (some reports say they even came from Inner Mongolia) to perform that "job" had been "prepared" by claims that "awful things" had been happening in Tiananmen Square, that counterrevolution was underway, that city streets and squares had been occupied by "bandits," "murderers," and "traitors" whose aim was to "destroy socialism" and "restore capitalism." After soldiers "prepared" in such a way finally faced the "awful counterrevolutionaries," students had no chance to explain their real aims and intentions to them. It was not only because it is difficult to establish a dialogue at gunpoint or while under tank treads, but above all because the students and soldiers did not even speak the same language! There was no possibility for them to communicate, even if the soldiers had been ready to listen to the students!

Does this remind you of anything? Does it warn you about something? Have we not already been pushed into a process of mutual demonization for months? Have we not "managed" to persuade the majority of "our people" that "their people" are doing "awful things" and that "they" are "fascists," "nationalists," or "unitarists," that is, "separatists," exploiters," or "counterrevolutionaries"; that they "want to do us in"; that they want to "secede"; that they are dreaming about the "restoration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy" or "great Serbia"; that they want to "subjugate us"; that they "exploit us" or "hate" us... and that we shall use all means to foil their intentions, no matter what happens?!

As the process of demonization developed the chances for communication between "our" people and "their" people diminished and finally came to naught! There are no longer any arguments, facts, or reasoning which would be able to reach either side. The failure to communicate is absolute among political leaderships, writers' organizations, in the press, radio, television....

In such a state of consciousness and spirit many atrocities become less unbelievable. We do not have to go as far as the far away or nearby China in order to obtain proof.